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# JAPAN

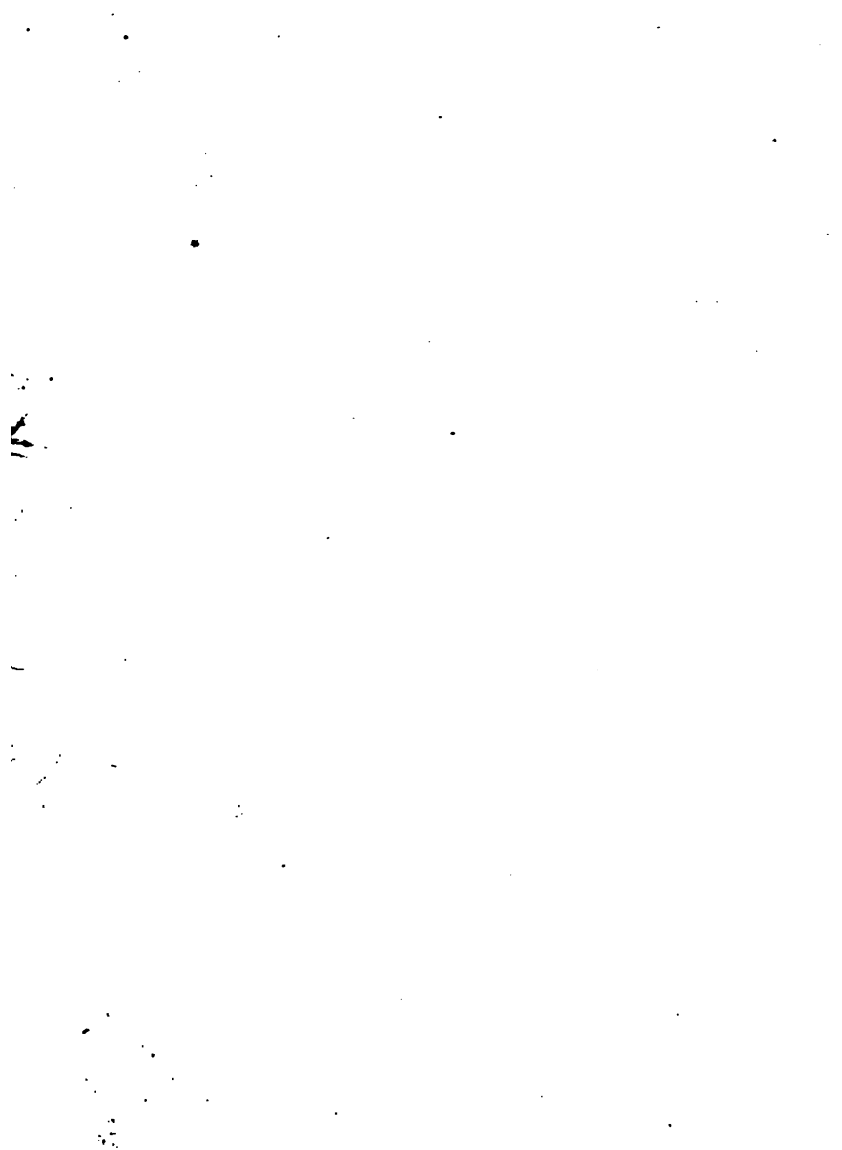
(1853-1868)

SIR ERNEST SATOW











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# JAPAN 1853-1864,

OR

GENJI YUME MONOGATARI,

TRANSLATED

BY

SIR ERNEST MASON SATOW,

EX-BRITISH ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PRINIPOTENTIARY AT TOKYO.



TOKYO.

XXXVIII OF MEIJI

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[The notes by the editor are indicated  
with the sign ° and brackets. S.W.]

BRITISH LEGATION.

25 April 1905 PEKING.

Dear Mr. Watanabe,

I am much  
flattered by your  
proposal to reprint  
my translation of the  
Genji Yume monogatari  
along with the Japanese  
text and some notes.

I willingly give my consent.

It is so many years  
ago since the translation  
was made that I cannot  
feel sure that the

translation is always  
correct, but I have  
no time to revise it,  
even if I had the  
original and translation  
at hand — which I  
have not. I trust therefore  
that you will correct  
any mistakes that  
you find in the  
translation.

Yours very sincerely  
Llewellyn Stowell.

# JAPAN 1853-1864.

GENJI YUME MONOGATARI.

VOL. I.



<sup>(1)</sup>In the autumn of the year 1864, during the reign of the 122nd sovereign of the human dynasty, a disturbance took place at Kiôto the like of which had not occurred since the first origin of Japan. Arms were resorted to, and bullets flew about the imperial palace; nay more than half of it was burnt in a conflagration which arose out of the fight. The fierce flames lighted up the heavens, and huge waves overwhelmed the earth. The people fell, as it were, into a burning pit and the whole country was convulsed from end to end. The origin of this outbreak was not the affair of one day. Twelve years previously on the 3rd day of the 6th month in the summer of 1853 an individual named PERRY, who called himself the envoy of the United States of America, suddenly arrived at Uraga in the province of Sagami with four ships of war, declaring that he brought a letter from his country to Japan, and that he wished to deliver it to the Sovereign. The *bugiô* TODA IDZU NO KAMI, much alarmed by this extraordinary event, hastened to the spot to inform himself of its meaning. The envoy stated in reply to questions that he desired to see a chief Minister of this

1853



country, in order to explain the object of his visit and to hand over to him the letter with which he was charged. IDZU NO KAMI despatched a messenger on horseback with all haste to carry this information to the castle of Yedo, where a great scene of confusion ensued on his arrival. Fresh messages arrived one after the other, and the Sadaijin Iyeyoshi, the then Shôgun, on receiving them was exceedingly troubled, and summoned all the officials to a council. There were present the Chief Ministers (Rôjiu) Abe Ise no kami, Matsudaira Idzumi no kami, and Matsudaira Iga no kami; the Vice Ministers Morikawa Dewa no kami, and Honda Etchiu no kami, the Ecclesiastical Commissioner (Jishabugîô) Andô Nagato no kami, (afterwards called Tsushima no kami),\* the Ome-tsukes Matsudaira Ukiô no Ské, Ota Settsu no kami, Honda Nakadzukasa no Taiyu, Matsudaira Buzen no kami, Fukaya Tôtomî no kami, Hori Idzu no kami, Yagiu Harima no kami, Ikeda Chikugo no kami, Sasayama Settsu no kami, the Finance Commissioners Ishikawa Tosa no kami, Matsudaira Kawachi no kami, Honda Kaga no kami, Kawaji Sayemon no jô, and a number of smaller officials of all ranks. At first the affair seemed so sudden, so formidable and so important, that they were too alarmed to open their mouths, but in the end orders were issued to the great clans to keep strict watch and ward on the seashore at Shinagawa, Kanagawa, Susaki, Hommoku, at Shimoda in Idzu and at Oshima (Vries) as it was possible that these barbarian vessels, who had made a sudden irruption into our inner waters, might proceed to commit acts of violence. The clans all declared

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\* Subsequently Minister, wounded by Rônins in 1860.

their readiness, and proceeded at once to despatch troops to the posts assigned, to provide arms, and to hoist flags emblazoned with the crest of each noble house. It was a beautiful sight to see this military display and this firm attitude of defence. On the 9th day of the month that learned Chinese scholar HAYASHI DAIGAKU NO KAMI went by order of the SHÔGUN to URAGA, and saw the envoy, from whom he received the letter. He then returned to Yedo, handed the letter to the Ministers (Rôjiu) who opened and read it in the presence of the Shôgun. Its contents were as follows: In modern times the intercourse between the different countries of the world is developing more and more every day, and all western countries are in communication with each other. Japan alone has from ancient times declined intercourse with other countries and has held aloof. But in the present age, how can she alone refuse to enter into relations with the rest of the world. With the object therefore of establishing friendship and intercourse between the people of our two respective countries, just as they exist between us and western states, we desire to explain to you how great are the United States, and if you refuse to enter into an arrangement, we shall commence hostilities. The Shôgun was greatly distressed at this, and again summoned his officials to a council; he also asked the opinion of the DAIMIOS, saying that he wished to arrive at a speedy and just settlement of the affair. The assembled officials were exceedingly disturbed and nearly broke their hearts over consultations which lasted all day and all night. The noble and retired nobles in Yedo were informed that they were at liberty

to state any ideas they might possess on the subject, and although they all stated their opinions, the diversity of propositions was so great, that no decision was arrived at. The military class had during a long peace neglected military arts; they had given themselves up to pleasure and luxury, and there were very few who had put on armour for many years. So that they were greatly alarmed at the prospect that war might break out at a moment's notice, and began to run hither and thither in search of arms. The city of Yedo and the surrounding villages were in a great tumult; in anticipation of the war which seemed imminent, the people carried their valuables and furniture in all directions to conceal them in the house of some friend living farther off, and there was such a state of confusion among all classes that the Governors of the town Ikeda Harima no Kami and Ido Tsushima no Kami were compelled to issue a notification to the people which in the end had the effect of quieting the general anxiety. But in the castle never was a decision further from being arrived at, and whilst time was being thus idly wasted, the envoy was constantly demanding an answer. So at last they decided that it would be best to arrange the affair quietly, to give the foreigners the articles they wanted and to put off sending an answer to the letter; to tell the envoy that in an affair which was of such importance to the State, no decision could be arrived at without mature consideration, and that he had better go away; and that in short time he should get a definite answer. The envoy agreed, and after sending a message to say that he should return *in the following* spring to get his answer, set sail from

Uraga on the 12th day of the same month with his four ships.

<sup>(2)</sup>The Shogun Iyeyoshi had been ill since the commencement of the summer, and had been rendered very anxious about this sudden and pressing affair of the outer barbarians. Perhaps it was this cause which now made his illness to become so severe, that he died on the 22nd day of the 7th month. The assembled retainers entirely lost their heads, and both high and low were plunged into the deepest grief. He was buried at Zôjôji and received the title of Shin-toku-In. He was succeeded by his son Iyesada, the 13th Shôgun of the Tokugawa family, and was appointed by the Mikado to the rank of Jiu-ni-i with the Office of Naidaijin.

<sup>(3)</sup>The end of that year came rapidly, and on the 18th day of the 1st month of the next year, (1854) the American vessels which had visited Japan the 1854 previous summer came a second time to Uraga, and asked for the promised answer. In spite of the death of the previous Shôgun and the succession of a new one, and of the fact that difference of opinion had prevented a decision from being arrived at with regard to the manner in which the outer barbarians were to be dealt with, the assembled officials thought that the way in which India and China had been seized and plundered by the English barbarians in the Opium War with the latter country, was a warning to be avoided, and that they had better grant the requests of these people. But MITO SAKI NO CHIUNAGON (the old Prince of Mito) said; "the Barbarians have been watching our country with greedy eye for many years, and the question is therefore

“nothing new. Still our Empire has its laws which have  
“descended from our ancestors, and those laws declare  
“that when any barbarian ship approaches our shores, it  
“is to be driven off by force, without any ado; and they  
“were so afraid so that they did not venture to bring  
“their vessels into our inner seas except at Nagasaki.  
“But some years ago Midzuno Echizen no kami, when  
“he was Minister (Rôjiu) issued a benevolent order, by  
“which the sweeping out of barbarian ships was prohibi-  
“ted, and ever since then they have kept a greedy eye on  
“our country. If we are frightened now by their aggres-  
“sive lying stratagems and give them what they ask for,  
“(as they have a cunning and treacherous object) they  
“will go on from bad to worse.

At first they will give us philosophical instruments,  
“machinery and other curiosities, will take ignorant  
“people in, and trade being their chief object, will  
“manage bit by bit to impoverish the country; after  
“which they will treat us just as they like; perhaps  
“behave with the greatest rudeness and insult us, and  
“end by swallowing up Japan. If we don't drive them  
“away now we shall never have another opportunity. If  
“now we resort to a wilfully dilatory method of proceed-  
“ing, we shall regret it (lit. we shall gnaw our navels,)  
“afterwards when it will be of no use.” However, Abe  
Ise no kami and the assembled officials disagreed with  
him. They argued “if we try to drive them away, they  
“will immediately commence hostilities, and then we  
“shall be obliged to fight. If we once get into a dispute,  
“we shall have an enemy to fight who will not be easily  
“disposed of. He does not care how long a time he will

“have to spend over it, but he will come with several  
“myriads of men of war and surround our shores com-  
“pletely: he will capture our junks and blockade our  
“ports and deprive us of all hope of protecting our  
“coasts. However large a number of his ships we might  
“destroy, he is so accustomed to that sort of thing, that  
“he would not care in the least. Even supposing that  
“our troops were animated by patriotic zeal in the com-  
“mencement of the war, after they had been fighting for  
“several years their patriotic zeal would naturally be-  
“come relaxed; the soldiers would become fatigued, and  
“we should have ourselves to thank for this. Soldiers  
“who have distinguished themselves are rewarded by  
“grants of land, or else you attack and seize the enemy’s  
“territory and that becomes your own property; so  
“every man is encouraged to fight his best. But in a  
“war with foreign countries a man may undergo hard-  
“ships for years, may fight as if his life were worth  
“nothing, and as all the land in this country has already  
“owners, there will be none to be given away as re-  
“wards; so we should have to give rewards in words or  
“money. In time the country would be put to an im-  
“mense expense, and the people be plunged into misery.  
“Rather than allow this, as we are not the equals of  
“foreigners in the mechanical arts, let us have inter-  
“course with foreign countries, learn their drill and  
“tactics, and when we have made the nation as united  
“as one family, we shall be able to go abroad and give  
“lands in foreign countries to those who have distin-  
“guished themselves in battle; the soldiers will vie with  
“one another in displaying their intrepidity, and it will

“not be too late then to declare war. Now we shall  
“have to defend ourselves against these foreign enemies  
“skilled in the use of mechanical appliances, with our  
“soldiers whose military skill has considerably diminished during a long peace of three hundred years, and  
“we certainly could not feel sure of victory, especially in  
“a naval war.” So at last it was determined to have peace with the barbarian countries. Half of their wishes were to be granted; their shipwrecked people to be kindly treated, and wood, water, provisions, coal and other articles required on board ship to be given to their vessels whenever they came. This was proposed with the object of getting rid of them without the occurrence of an outbreak, and all the officials agreed to it. The old Prince of Mito’s valuable advice was considered a turbulent proposal and had no effect at all, while a dilatory and effete policy was adopted. The envoy was informed of the decision and he replied “I shall on returning to my country obtain great credit for having arranged matters, peaceably; and in going backwards and forwards to the China war I shall now and then call in to ask after the health of the Prince of your country.” Having preferred these and other petitions, they all set sail on the 13th day of the 3rd month.

“So for a short time all the officials were happy and contented with themselves, until a short time after some Dutchmen came to Nagasaki and presented the following petition. “Our country since the beginning of the dynasty has had permission to trade and have intercourse by letter; and every year, up to the present time included, we have come in our ships to Nagasaki.

“But lately Americans have come to Uraga in Sagami and have preferred insolent petitions, and we hear that in accordance with their petition you have granted them permission to come in their ships to the neighbourhood of Yedo. We desire that our nation shall be treated in the same manner.” Again the Russians came to Nagasaki and presented the same petition as the American barbarians, and close on their heels followed the English and French with proposals to open ports for trade, to establish perpetual peace and friendship between themselves and Japan, and mutually to try to enrich and strengthen one another. It seems that the officials could not refuse to consent, and so they were all treated in the same way as the Americans.

<sup>(5)</sup>However all the patriotic and honest men in the Empire were enraged at the doings of Shôgun's officials and did not cease to censure them; all sorts of arguments without end were started about this question, and thus was laid the foundation of trouble at home and difficulties abroad, and of manifold troubles and misfortunes.

<sup>(6)</sup>In this way then, by an unavoidable series of events, the different nations of the Western Ocean came constantly into our inner seas, and as it was expected that they might make a sudden attack upon us at any moment, several forts were erected in the sea between Shinagawa and Susaki, and the Daimios were ordered to keep strict watch and ward on the seacoast.

<sup>(7)</sup>On the 6th day of the 4th month a fire broke out in the palace of the retired Mikado; the palace of the reigning Emperor took fire and the apartments of the Emperor and his family were all destroyed by the con-



flagration. His Majesty moved his residence to the house of Shôgo in no Miya. The flames spread to the town, and consumed a district comprised between Shô-fukuji on the west, Imadegawa on the north, and Shimo-tachiuri on the south, including about two hundred and thirty streets of more than six thousand houses.

<sup>(5)</sup>On the 13th day of the 6th month there were a great earthquake along the line of the Tōkaidō and in the Northern provinces, houses were overturned in places, and the high road opened and vomited mud and sand, causing the death of a large number of people. On the 15th day of the 7th month there was a great rain storm in the Northern provinces, followed by a flood. The river Sae in Kaga, the rivers Koya, Tetori and Hine in Etchū overflowed their banks. The village of Asai was carried away and one hundred and fifty people drowned.

<sup>(6)</sup>On the 4th of the 11th month, between seven and nine o'clock in the morning a violent earthquake occurred throughout the country, the effects of which were felt most severely at Osaka; a large number of houses were overthrown and a huge wave ran up the three mouths of the Yodogawa, carrying large junks with it whose masts struck the bridges and carried them away. One hundred and fifty junks of different sizes were destroyed. More people lost their lives by drowning than it was possible to ascertain. In the Eastern provinces three small craters burst forth on \*Fujisan; the pine forest of Miyo was washed away; a †Russian man of war was sunk in the bay of Suruga; throughout the country

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\* Incorrectly but usually called Fusi-yama by Europeans.

† The "*Diana*" wrecked at Shimoda by a tidal wave.

mountains were levelled and valleys filled up by an earthquake; a tidal wave rose along the coast and destroyed the houses of the inhabitants; an immense number of people lost their lives and great damage was done to property all over the country.

<sup>(10)</sup>On the 27th day of the same month the chronological period was changed, and a new one called \*Ansei inaugurated, in consequence of the burning of the Palace in the summer of this year.

<sup>(11)</sup>This year permission was granted to build some large men-of-war, and a notification was issued that all Japanese vessels were to hoist a flag showing the sun on a white ground.

<sup>(12)</sup>In consequence of the constant visits of barbarian ships of late years, the Daimiôs were ordered to guard the sea coast at †Naniwa, Nishino-miya and Sakai in the province of Setsu. Iikamon no kami was appointed to guard the Emperor, and his troops were quartered in the temple of Honnôji at Kiôto.

<sup>(13)</sup>On the 1st day of the 8th month of the next year (1855) a great storm occurred in the 1855 home provinces,‡ accompanied by a flood. On the 2nd of the month a severe earthquake occurred in the eastern

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\* Chronological period. The Japanese like the Chinese date from no era : they give a name to the current period and change it at irregular intervals whenever any great event occurs. Ansei means tranquil government, and was meant to hail the dawn of a peaceful period. The previous period Kayei, means "eternal felicity."

† Another name for Osaka, considered poetical.

‡ Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Idzumi and Settsu are called Kinai, or home provinces because they surround Kiôto.

provinces; numbers of houses were destroyed in Mutsu\* and Dewa and many lives lost. On the 20th there was a great storm accompanied by a flood in the home provinces. The mountain called Kasagi-yama crumbled away, and a great many lives were lost. On the 26th a tidal wave rose in the provinces of Owari, which washed away land to the amount of more than eighteen thousand koku.

<sup>(14)</sup>At ten o'clock on the night of the 2nd day of the 10th month, there was a great earthquake in the eastern provinces, which was felt most severely at Yedo. More than ten thousand houses, including the castle, residence of Daimios and vassals of the Shôgun (hata-moto) Shintô Shrines, buddhist temples and citizen's houses were shaken down; fires broke out in thirty places at once; the flames ascended and spread on all sides, so that a great conflagration ensued. The number of lives lost amounted to a hundred and four thousand; the corpses were buried by the authorities in thirteen large temples. About this time the Minister Abe Ise no Kami died. One of the Shinagawa forts slipped down and the officers and men on duty in it were killed on the spot.

<sup>(15)</sup>On the 23rd day of the 11th month, the Imperial palace, which had been in course of reconstruction since the fire which took place in the previous summer having arrived at completion, the Emperor took up his residence there. The imperial palanquin started from the houses of Katsura no Miya,† passed the Imadegawa street, along

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\* The province commonly called Oshiu.

† One of the Princes of the Blood.

the streets named Muromachi and Sanjo Sakai Machi. His Majesty was escorted by the Kuambaku Takadzukasa Daijō Daijin, by the Sadaijin, Udaijin, Dainagon Chunagon and Urin Jijū. The military class was represented by the Shōgun's Resident Wakizaka Awaji no Kami, by the civil governors of Kiōto Asano Nakadzukasa no Shōyu and Okabe Bingo no Kami, and the Tsukebuke,\* Okubo Osumi no Kami and Okabe Suruga no Kami, who were all magnificently dressed and accoutred, and mounted on horseback. Then those who had the honour of seeing the procession, lay down on their faces in the road, and wept tears of joy, clapped their hands, and worshipped with fear and reverence.

<sup>(16)</sup> On the 11th day of the 8th month of the 3rd year of Ansei (September 1856) in the evening, a great deal of rain fell over Osaka, Sakai, Hiōgo, Nishinomiya and these parts; more than three hundred thunderbolts fell in different places.

<sup>(17)</sup> On the 27th of the same month about eight o'clock in the evening, a great storm took place at Yedo and in the neighbourhood; the thunder was particularly loud, especially at Yedo. The whole of the Fisher's street was washed away, a great number of houses were destroyed at Shinagawa by a tidal wave, and several thousand junks and boats disappeared. The man-of-war belonging to His Highness of Mito ran on to the second fort, and was smashed to pieces. Large junks went up the river against the stream, and broke down the bridge called the Yei-tai-bashi. Tsukudashima,† Teppōzu, and

\* Officials of the Tokugawa clan lent for the Mikado's private service.

† The Island within or at the mouth of the river at Yedo.

Hamagoten, were laid in ruins, and the roof of the Monzeki temple at Tsukiji was blown away. From the castle, to the temples and shrines, to the residence of the Daimios and the houses of the common people, there was hardly a roof that was not awry, all were more or less damaged. It is said that the wounded and killed amounted to more than one hundred thousand persons. Great losses of property occurred in the provinces of Awa, Kadzusa, Shimosa, Hitachi, Kôdzuke, Shimotsuke and along the whole line of the Tôkaidô. These constantly occurring signs and wonders were attributed by the people to the anger of the gods at the continual pollution of our country by the visits of the outer barbarians.

<sup>(18)</sup>The same month the Kuambaku Takadzukasa Daijô Daijin resigned his office, and was succeeded by Kujô Sadajin. The question "what is to be done about the barbarians" was constantly under discussion at Yedo, yet without any decision being arrived at.

<sup>(19)</sup>While time was being wasted in this way, a barbarian vessel touched several times on the coast of Settsu and Kishiu, taking soundings.

<sup>(20)</sup>In the autumn of the next year (1857) the President (*sic.* in orig.) Perry who had visited 1857 Japan previously, came with Consul Harris, and complained vehemently that the articles of the petition, granted already some time back, were not yet put in force. They observed that as to the question of general intercourse with Western States, the Dutch had already sent in a petition the previous year, and naturally enough too, that Russia, France and England, making in all

five States, would conclude treaties of intercourse and enter into amicable relations; and they proposed that a rule should be established that they should help \*us and we them in case difficulties should arise; that consequently† all the nations had come and that it depended on our management of the question whether we should be plunged into an embarrassment. Upon hearing this the Ministers, vice-Ministers and officials were greatly alarmed, and reported what had been said to the Shogun. Then Hotta Bitchiu no Kami, Makino Bizen no Kami, Kuze Yamato no Kami, Naitô Kii no Kami, Torii Tamba no Kami, Honda Echizen no Kami, Endô Tajima no Kami, Honjô Aki no Kami, Sakai the Civil Governor of the city, Tsubouchi Idzu no Kami, Matsudaira Awa no Kami, Kawaji Sakingo, Midzuno Chikuzen no Kami, Hongô Tamba no Kami, Hiraoka Tamba no Kami, Natsume Sakon no Shôgen, Okabe Inaba no Kami, Ogasawara Wakasa no Kami, and Okubo Suruga no Kami, met together night and day for consultation. On the one hand, if the demands of these people were granted, it was easy to see that the population of Japan would become disturbed and excited and alienated from the Shôgunate. On the other hand if intercourse with the foreigners was declined in order to avoid the troubles which might spring from it, then war would break out

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\* This refers to the mediation article in the American treaty which runs as follows. "The President of the United States, at the request of the Japanese Government, will act as a friendly mediator in such matters of difference as may arise between the Government of Japan, and any European Power."

† The meaning of this "consequently" is not quite clear in the original even to a Japanese.

at once. Japan would then have to fight all the countries of the Western Ocean at once, and how could she expect to win. Any internal disturbances could be kept down by some means or other, but if war broke out with foreign countries, the integrity of the empire would be imperilled and it would be a difficult thing to subdue them entirely. So they decided to arrange the matter as quietly as possible as the affair had arrived at such a pass that it could not be got rid of, and the proposals which had been made previously by the old Prince of Mito became the subject of general ridicule. What the foreigners had persistently demanded was the opening of the ports of Niigata in Echigo, Yokohama in Musashi, Hiogo in Settsu, Nagasaki in Hizen, with the permission to build lofty houses and shops at these places and carry on a great trade. It was decided therefore that the thing to quiet them was to open a port near Kanagawa in Musashi as a temporary measure, and to grant treaty with the privilege of building shops and trading.

<sup>(21)</sup>The envoy was therefore invited to the residence of Hotta Bitchu no kami, and this determination was made known to him; he was much pleased and was profuse in respectful thanks, saying that this would be the basis of long continued friendship between the two countries; that after the conclusion of treaties with all the states, in order to confirm this treaty, and to increase the existing amity, he begged that the envoy might have an audience of the sovereign of this country in order to pay his compliments, which would be a fine thing for the United States. The officials did not know what to say to this, but seeing that they could not well refuse, at

last permission was given, and on the 4th day of the same month the two envoys proceeded to the castle at Yedo, and saw the Shôgun. As the thing was done without sufficient grounds, the old Prince of Mito and all the patriots of the Empire were much grieved, and some of them censured the proceedings of the Shôgun's officials, disliking extremely that the opening of the ports should be granted; and besides to have allowed these people, in accordance with their request to have an audience of the Shôgun, was a thing certainly not to be passed over. There were many, who outraged at these things, urged their prince to remonstrate with the Shôgun, and when they saw there was no hope of success, they absconded from his territory, in the hopes of accomplishing their aspiration by other means. From this time numbers of low-class two-sworded men wandered about the country, and gave promise of noble deeds. Subsequently the Ministers, Vice-Ministers and other officials met the envoys at the guard house for the examination of junks\* and concluded a temporary treaty with them; the envoys produced some trading regulations, and having exchanged signatures, they concluded the negotiations for the gradual opening of the ports.

<sup>(22)</sup>The Imperial Court now began to hear that the barbarians came to the Kuantô (the Yedo district), and increased daily in pride and insolence, and the Emperor's mind was sore disturbed; the nobles of his Court too were profoundly grieved and lamented over the state of affairs. The Shôgun's officials in Kuantô seem to

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\* At Uraga.



have feared the disastrous consequence of their acts, and during the 12th month, (Jan. 1858), Hayashi Daigaku no Kami Tsuda Hanzaburo and Nakadai Shintaro left Yedo and arrived at Kiôto on the 22nd, when they communicated what had taken place to the Shoshidai\* Honda Mino no Kami, and other officials of the Shôgunate named Okubo Osumi no Kami, Tsudzuki Suruga no Kami, Asano Nakadzukasa no Shôyu, and Okabe Bingo no Kami, civil Governor of Kiôto. On the 24th the Tensô† Hirohata Dainagon and Higashibôjô Dainagon were summoned to the Resident's house, to meet the messengers from Yedo. These latter said that affairs in Kuantô had reached such a condition, that they had been obliged to grant a treaty, by which ports were opened to commerce to the five barbarians namely Holland, England, America, Russia and France, and that it was intended to open a port near Kanagawa in Musashi; that they ardently desired that the Emperor and the Shôgun should come to a good understanding with each other; and they handed over to the Tensô seven documents, amongst which were the trading regulations, the reports of the conferences held at Hotta's residence, and the letter brought by the Envoy, and begged them to induce the Emperor to give his approval to them. The Tensôs agreed to do so, and reported all this next day to the Emperor, who was intensely grieved and disturbed. As this was a thing that could not be permitted for a moment, he summoned

\* Daimio nominated by the Shôgun, to garrison Kioto and represent him generally at the Mikado's court : elsewhere translated "the Shôgun's resident."

† A noble of the Court, intermediary of all communication between the Shôgun and Mikado.

all the nobles of his Court, and ordered them to hold a council. Kuambaku Kujô dono and the retired Kuambaku Takadzukasa<sup>o</sup> Udaijin, Ichijô Naidaijin, Sanjô the retired Naidaijin, Nijô Dainagon, the Gisô Kuga Dainagon, Tokudaiji Dainagon, Made no Koji Chiunagon, Bôjô Sadaiben, and Uramatsu Saishô, the two Tensô, the Princes of the Blood, and other nobles of the court (Kugé) besides, all assembled at the palace and discussed the matters laid before them by the messengers from Yedo. They spoke as follows. "Our country from ancient times has refused all intercourse with foreign countries; a myriad of sovereigns in one unbroken line have occupied its throne, and it is an independent empire. Shall we let these people pollute one inch of our territory? But the Shogun's officials, by a wilful error, have given permission for friendly relations and commerce; worse than this they have promised to open ports, acts which must excite the profoundest indignation. If they go on in this slothful and supine way, they will gradually fall into the snares of these people, the fundamental laws of the state will be altogether lost, we shall be insulted be compelled to fold our coats with the left lapet outside† write across the page instead of from top to bottom, get our Government and laws from stinking dogs and goats, and become the subjects of the jurisdiction of barbarian States. Then the national glory which has lasted for thousands of year, will be utterly tarnished; then it

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[<sup>o</sup> 'Dajôdaijin, Konoe Sadaijin, Takadzukasa' to be inserted here.]

† The Japanese do actually fold the left side of the dress over the right. The expression is a proverbial one adopted from the Chinese.

“will be too late to gnaw our entrails with rage, and “disgraced as country we shall become a dependent “state. The people<sup>o</sup> of Kuantô have changed the “excellent laws of their ancestors, and brought them to “this condition. Even supposing that they were compelled to act thus by the force of circumstances, the “Mikado’s Court can never give its consent for a “moment.” This opinion was written down and signed by all present, and then sent into the Mikado. So the court made up its mind and informed the messengers from Kuantô what the Imperial decision was. Hayashi Dai-gaku no Kami was extremely grieved and immediately sent off a messenger to Yedo to convey this news to Kuantô.

(3) The foreign envoys were constantly urging the exchange of the ratifications of the treaties, and the Shogun was excessively fatigued with the whole affair. The Ministers, Vice-Ministers (Roju and Sansei) and all the other officials met together to consult, and wasted their time so that the year came to an end and was followed by the 5th year of Ansei (1858). Hayashi’s report arrived from Kioto in the beginning 1858 of the 1st month, and seeing from it what was the state of things in the Imperial Court, Hotta Bitchiu no Kami, Iwase Higo no Kami, the finance commissioner Kawaji Sayemon no jo, Tatsuda Rokuske, and Hara Yajiuro set out from Yedo on the 26th day, arriving at Kioto nine days later, where they lodged in the temple called Honnoji. On the fourth day after their arrival they went to the Palace, and on the next day but one they received the two Tensos at their lodging in Honnoji.

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[<sup>o</sup> officials?]

They explained to the two Tenso the affairs at Kuantô, the extremely embarrassing position in which they had been placed, and the necessity for settling the matter quickly; and they begged the Tenso to explain to His Majesty, and obtain his consent. The two Tensô promised to do so, and on taking their leave, went at once to the Palace and reported what had been told them. All the chief nobles came to the Court and discussed the matter in council as at first, but without arriving at any other conclusion. They became very angry and excited, saying "the ugly barbarians become more aggressive and insolent every day, and though Kuantô reports that it is unable to keep them in order, we cannot allow our country to be insulted for a single moment; His Majesty ought at once to issue a decree for their expulsion." Thus did they clamour, so that Hotta Bitchiu no Kami, hearing of it, was sadly distressed. Then Tsudzuki Suruga no Kami laid a scheme. There was a certain retainer of the Hikone clan named Nagano Shiuzen who lived in Kiôto under the pretence of studying poetry; he had the privilege of visiting the Princes of the Blood (Miya) and nobles of the Court (Kuge), and went now and then to the Kuambaku to see His Highness and ask after his health. As he was a man of great ability Suruga no Kami sent for him to his residence, in order to consult with him and get him to arrange the matter on hand. Shiuzen having received minute instructions as to the object to be gained, undertook the job, and put it into the hands of Shimada Sahiôye no jô, a retainer of his friend the Kuambaku. Shimada, who was a great rascal, at once accepted the

task, and by means of his cunning talk, managed to persuade His Highness. His Highness, convinced of the honesty of the Shôgunate, invited the Tensô Higashî-bôjô Dainagon to come and see him. He explained to him that the Shôgun was really surrounded by difficulties, and the Rojiu and Sansei (Vice-Ministers, also called Wakadoshiyori) did not know where to turn. That if the Court did not make up its mind to be on good terms with the military power, hostility would be generated between them, and that might lead to complications undreamt of at present. In that case he feared that no good would result to the Imperial Court, because of the power and prestige so long possessed by the Shôgunate. Higashibôjô Dainagon, seeing these signs of alarm, assented to the expressions which had been forced by circumstances from the Kuambaku, and privately communicated their gist to the Emperor, who informed the nobles of the Court that he intended to give full powers to the Shôgun to settle the affair of the outer barbarians. So again there arose violent discussions in the palace, and all classes were as excited as a boiling cauldron. Amongst others Arisugawa no Miya and Sanjô Naidaijin, hearing that the Emperor had granted the plaintive petition of the Kuantô messengers, were greatly distressed, and thinking the opinions of His Highness were profoundly suspicious, again presented a memorial to the Emperor. Every one became greatly excited, and a body of eighty-eight kuge, headed by Nakayama Dainagon and Ôi-Mikado Dainagon, proceeded to the palace of Kujodono,\* and begged him

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\* *The Kuambaku.*

to give them a categorical answer to their questions. His Highness was greatly alarmed, and without answering their questions, said that he had acted thus, being very anxious for the safety of the state and of the Emperor. They thereupon sent in a memorial signed by all of them, and all the officials in their employ sent in another expressing identical views. So the Imperial Court came to a decision, and deprived Higashibojo Dainagon of his office. Tsudzuki Suruga no Kami, the *tsuke-buke* died suddenly on the same day. The Emperor's answer was then delivered to the Kuantô messengers as follows. "What you have told His Majesty involves the safety of the fundamental laws of the Empire, and as the popular mind would be disturbed by it, the Imperial consent cannot be given. Let the Shogun in future zealously perform his duty of subjugating barbarians, and let him sweep them away." The Kuantô messengers were sadly disappointed at their want of success, but that was of no avail, so on the 3rd day of the fourth month Hotta Bitchiu no Kami went to the palace to take his leave, and started from Kioto for Yedo on the 5th.

(24) The Imperial Court hated profoundly the doings of the outer barbarians, and it was evident that they might make a sudden inroad at any moment. Yet the Bakufu\* was supine and wasted its time, which greatly grieved the Imperial mind, and His Majesty therefore resolved to send an envoy to the two shrines of Ise, to upper and lower Kamo, and to Yahata to offer up prayers on his behalf for the peace and tranquillity of the country.

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\* Another name for the Shôgun's Government.

▷In Kuantò, after the return of Hotta Bitchiu no Kami, the public mind was unquiet. In consequence of this important national crisis, the Minister and the chief Chinese Scholar had been sent to Kioto for the express purpose of asking the Emperor's opinion, but a number of worthless Kugé, rebelling against the wishes of the Shōgun, had prevented the Emperor from granting his permission. If this sort of thing were passed over with impunity the prestige of the Shōgunate would be entirely ruined. As the Tokugawa\* house possessed the office of barbarian subjugator with full powers, independently of the Mikado's permission, to act in accordance with its own notions was by no means a violation of the imperial orders. The Kugé had taken advantage of the peremptory language used towards the Mikado to interfere in this way. The only way to keep up the military prestige of the Shogunate was to choose a man of sufficient capacity, and to appoint him Tairo† So on the 23rd of the 4th month Hikone Chiujo Nawosuke Ason, Ii Kamon no Kami,‡ was appointed to the office of *Shikken*§ and Ōta Settsu no kami, Manabe Shimosa no Kami and Matsudaira Idzumi no Kami were appointed a second time Ministers. From this time a gulf began to exist between the Government and the military

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\* Family name of the Shōguns since Iyeyasu.

† A *taishō* bore the same relation to a *ryūū* as a Roman dictator to a Consul.

‡ This is the full title of Ii Kamon no Kami. Hikone is the name of his castle town. Chiujo, middle General or General of the 2nd class is the honorary rank in the Mikado's Court. Nawosuke his personal name. Ason means servant of the Court. Ii is his family name and Kamon no Kami title.

§ One who has authority.

power (*i. e.* between the Mikado and Shogun), the Imperial Court gained more and more power, while both internal and external troubles arose.

<sup>(26)</sup>Previously to this the foreign envoy Consul Harris went away, for the President<sup>o</sup> Perry had fallen ill and died, and he had to go to his funeral.<sup>8</sup> Whilst he was thus occupied he took no notice of the delay of the communications which he expected from the Shogunate, but about this time he began to renew his urgency, and the Ministers informed him of the Mikado's wishes. The Shogun also notified to the daimios that he had written an answer to say that even if the opening of the ports according to the temporary treaty previously exchanged were delayed, there would be no contravention of the treaty, and that the question would be dealt with at a later period. That in consequence of the urgency with which the outer barbarians had demanded the opening of the ports, he had applied to the Mikado for permission, which had been refused, but His Majesty had bravely decided, that as it was impossible to say at what moment the foreign barbarians might make a sudden attack on our inner waters, the country must be placed in a condition of military preparation, and that when all was ready to ensure victory, the military glory of the empire should be made to shine before the eyes of foreign countries. The protection of the coast of Kwantō was entrusted to the daimios, and all of them guarded it with vigilance. In the provinces round Kioto also garrisons were established with great vigour.

<sup>(27)</sup>At Kioto certificates of merit were given to the

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[<sup>o</sup> Commodore.    <sup>8</sup>This statement is obviously erroneous.]



nobles and their adherents who had displayed honesty and fidelity in their zeal for the honour of the Mikado; they were all proud of the distinction they had gained, and the influence of the Court daily grew and increased. The more hotblooded among them, excited by the power which appeared to attach to the Court, declared that the acts of the Shogunate were in many ways discordant with the Imperial orders; that it treated the decrees of the Court in a contemptuous manner, which was a heinous crime; and they talked freely in this way, censuring the Shogunate, without ceasing.

<sup>(28)</sup>In the end of the 5th month the Shogun's Resident Abe Settsu no Kami became a member of the Council of Ministers, and departed for Kuantō. The Governor of Fushimi, Naito Bungo no Kami built a new residence at the Kojin entrance to Kioto in order to superintend the police of the city, and taking up his residence here, looked after affairs both in Kioto and Fushimi at the same time. The real cause of it was, that as the prestige of the Court increased, the patriotic two sworded men bubbled over, and went about in numbers abusing the action of the Bakufu officials, and this was done to facilitate their discovery. However the agitation for and against intercourse with the frontier barbarians increased from day to day; Ii Kamon no Kami seized upon the power, and in direct contravention of the Imperial will, permitted the opening of the ports in a most determined manner. The old Prince of Mito was filled with grief and several times addressed letters of remonstrance to him, which were not in the slightest degree attended to. Then the Daimios of Tosa, Hizen, Sendai, Inaba, Uwa-

jima, and Tsuyama sent in memorials advocating the shutting of the ports and the expulsion of the barbarians and remonstrated, but even they were not listened to, and all men declared that the obstinacy and selfwilledness of Ii Kamon no Kami were too great and detestable.

<sup>(21)</sup>In the middle of the 6th month of this year a terrible pestilence broke out in the east of Oshiu and spread over the Kuantō. Its symptoms were a sudden attack of fever, violent vomiting and constant motions; the whole body became cold, and the patient, worn out with pain, died in a couple of days. In several cases the patient succumbed in thirty six hours,<sup>o</sup> so that by the common people it was called 'three day cholera.' Subsequently there were sufferers who died after only a couple of hours sickness and from this it got the name of "sudden cholera." Everyone was seriously alarmed; the pest gradually spread to the vicinity of the capital, and from thence to the capital, to Osaka, the western provinces, and Kiushiu. Of this plague there died in the whole Empire three hundred thousand and odd persons. The Shogun Iyesada fell ill of this or some other violent disease, and after one day's severe illness died on the 8th day of the 7th month, at the age, as it is said, of thirty-five. When this happened, all classes who lived in the castle were sore grieved and moved, and as there was no heir they discussed who should be appointed to succeed him. Now Hitotsubashi\* done was the real son of the old Prince of Mito, and was a particularly wise and intelligent young Prince. As

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[<sup>o</sup> Orig. half a day.]

\* Usually spelt Stotsbashi by foreigners.

to his age, it was thought it just fitted him to be chosen successor in a time like the present. The Daimios of Owari, Echizen, Tsuyama, Sendai, Tosa, Hizen, Uwajima, Sakura (who was one of the Ministers), Uyeda (also a Minister), Ishikawa Wakasa no Kami (a wakadoshiyori), Hongo Tamba no Kami (a wakadoshiyori) and all the patriotic men of the families related to the Tokugawa house, were united in desiring him to be the successor to the late Shogun in such a difficult political crisis. But the Regent Ii Kamon no Kami would by no means consent; he alleged that the late lord had desired Kikuchiyo of the Kishiu family to be his successor, and had talked of adopting him for his son, and therefore he would make that Prince the successor to the Shogunate; so, without caring for the different view taken by others, he set up Kishiu Saisho dono, who was scarcely twelve years of age, and made him successor to the line of the Tokugawa family and fourteenth Shogun of that house. Kenkichi the second son of Matsudaira Ukio Daibu was made successor to the Kishiu family, and was subsequently raised to the rank of Chiunagon.

<sup>(30)</sup>About this time every night a comet was seen in the north-west about twenty feet long; it seemed to vomit smoke over the heavens and men feared because they thought such a wonder was a forerunner of great and awful changes in the empire, and of trouble to the country. All sorts of stories were abroad about the sudden death of the Shogun Iyesada, and somewhat suspicious reports were in circulation. The suspicions of Ii Komon no Kami fell upon the old Prince of Mito, and he forced all those who had worked to get Hitotsu-

bashi done made the adopted heir to retire from public life. The doctor Oka Kakusenin<sup>o</sup> was condemned to the strictest form of confinement, and Taki Rakushiuin was put in prison. The secretary Koga Kimpachiro, disembowelled himself. The old Prince of Mito was put in the strictest confinement at his home in Komagome. Owari Dainagon was forced to retire into private life at his residence at Toyama, and was succeeded in the daimiate by Matsudaira Settsu no kami. Hitotsubashi dono was forbidden to appear at the castle, and ordered to remain in confinement at home. The daimios of Satsuma, Sendai, Inshiu (or Inaba) and Tsuyama were ordered to remain at home with closed doors. Those of Hizen, Tosa and Uwajima were ordered to retire into private life. Hotta Bitchiu no Kami, Matsudaira Iga no Kami, Ishikawa Tosa no Kami, and Hongo Tango no Kami, were deprived of their offices, and ordered to confine themselves to their houses till further notice; and the others who were punished on this occasion amounted to several hundred persons.

<sup>(31)</sup>On the 18th day of the same month the corpse of Iyesada, the late Shogun, was conducted to Tōyeizan at Ueno, and the name inscribed on his tomb was Onkio-in dono. Subsequently the rank of Sho-ichi-i Daijo-daijin was conferred on him by a decree of the Mikado, and his consort received the appellation of Tensho-in dono.

<sup>(32)</sup>The Imperial Court was deeply offended by the arbitrary way in which the officials of the Bakufu acted, and insulted the Mikado by neglecting to obey his wise will; and privately summoning the patriotic and devoted

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[<sup>o</sup> Reikisen-in]

Kuge, he sent a secret order to the old Prince of Mito. The order stated that His Majesty had heard that affairs were not quiet in Kuantō, and that the Prince must use all his endeavours with the Bakufu to reconcile the existing differences and to induce them to sweep away the barbarians at once.

Although His Highness the Kuambaku was actually the real father of the Empress, he was an object of suspicion to the Emperor on account of the sympathy he had displayed for Hotta Bitchiu no Kami when he was at Kiōto in the spring of the year, so this noble was left out of the affair, and a document signed by Konoye Sadaijin, Takadzukasa Udaijin, Ichijo Naidaijin, Sanjo Saki no Naidaijin and Nijo Dainagon was handed to Ukai Kichizaemon and his son Ukai Kokichi, who resided in the Mito Yashiki\* at Kioto, and on the 8th month they set out on this secret mission. On arriving at the Komagome Yashiki in Yedo they handed the letter containing the Imperial will to the old Prince, who was intensely delighted, and accepted the commission gratefully.

<sup>(33)</sup>Ii Kamon no Kami, expecting that something of this kind would happen, had secretly despatched Nagano Shiuzen to Kioto as a spy, and Shiuzen having heard of this affair, at once started for Yedo in great haste, and told the Chiujo what had occurred. Ii Kamon no Kami was greatly astonished that such an important affair should have been entrusted to the hands of unimportant

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\* The residences of personages are called Yashiki or "spread-houses"; sometimes translated palace, but hardly coming up in splendour to that idea, it seems best to keep the Japanese word.

persons, and feared moreover that it would cause a breach between the Mikado and Shogun, a thing extremely injurious to the tranquillity of the state. As it was a matter not to be neglected for even one day, he despatched Manabe Shimosa no Kami to Kioto to announce the punishment of those who had been active in getting up this scheme. Manabe Shimosa no Kami arrived at Kioto in the middle of the 9th month, and took up his residence in the temple of Miomanji at Kiogoku. He was followed by Sakai Wakasa no Kami, and after consultation with Naito Bungo no Kami His Highness the Kuambaku was reinstated, and the patriotic two sworded men implicated in the despatch of the secret instructions of the Emperor to the old Prince of Mito were carefully sought after. Takahashi Hiobu Shoyu, Koyabayashi Mimbutaiyu, Kaneda Iori, Mikuni Daigaku, retainers of Takadzukasa Dono, Itami Kurando, Yamada Kageyu, retainer of Shorenin no Miya, Iida Sama, retainer of Arisugawa no Miya, Wakamatsu Moku no Kami, Iriye Uta no Kami, retainers of Ichijo Dono, Niwa Buzen no Kami, Moridera Inaba no Kami, and his son Wakasa no Kami, and Tomida Oribe, retainers of Sanjo Dono, Kasuga Sanuki no Kami, retainer of Kuga Dono, Fujii Tajima no Kami, Mikura Kotoneri, and Yamashina Idzumo no Kami, retainers of Saionji Dono, Muraoka, a lady of Konoye Dono's household, Rokubutsu Kūman, pupil of Daigaku Teramiya, Ukai Kichizaemon and his son Kokichi, retainer of Mito Dono, some Chinese professors named Umeda Genjiro, Ikenouchi Daigaku and Rai Mikihachiro, a painter named Ukida Ikkei and his son Shoan were one after another arrested and

put in prison. At Yedo by order of the Rojiu, Sansei and of the governor of the city, the police searched diligently for all persons well affected towards the Mikado, and all persons concerned in the opposition made to the choice of Kikuchiyo as heir to the Shogunate. Yasushima<sup>o</sup> Tatewaki, Kayane Iyo no Suké, Aizawa Idaiyu, Otake Mohei, retainers of Mito, Kusakabe Isoji and his son Yunojo, retainers of Satsuma, Yoshimi Chozemon, retainer of Uwajima, Yoshida Torajiro, retainer of Choshu, Hashimoto Sanai, retainer of Echizen, Omura Matasaburo, Fujita Chiuzo, inferior officials of the Bakufu, Hasegawa Soyemon, and his son Hayami, retainers of Takamatsu, Gaba Ichinokami, a Ronin\*, the doctor Ii-idzumi Kinai and his son Shundo, and the *Yamabushi* Riyeki-in were arrested and imprisoned at Yedo. Besides these even peasants and townspeople were arrested at Kioto. The officials were put into sedans covered with nets and the non-official persons into bamboo cages and sent from the official residence of the governor of Kioto, Ogasawara Nagato no Kami, under a guard to Yedo.

<sup>(34)</sup>On the 1st day of the 12th month (early in 1859) the ceremony of investing Kikuchiyo with the Shogunate took place, and from this day the Saisho was called by the title of Shonii Dainagon Iyemochi. Tayaasu was appointed his guardian.

<sup>(35)</sup>So that year passed away and in the early spring of the next (1859) the conferences with the foreign states arrived at a conclusion: the Regent Ii Kamon no Kami assumed more and more authority, and being no

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[<sup>o</sup> Ajima.]

\* A two sworded man who has absconded from his princes' service.

longer afraid of anybody or anything, opened resolutely at Yokohama in Musashi a port and a town; erected factories for the Russians, English, Dutch, Americans and French, and built shops and native houses and drove a brisk trade. A brothel quarter was also set apart beautified as much as possible, pleasure gardens full of artificial scenery, of fountains and of the flowers which flourish each season. The vessels of all sizes of the five barbarians came and anchored in number in the port; the sight was most beautiful and incomparable, and the place became the busiest port of all Kuantō; nay it was enough to make any traveller wonder.


Then some new bugio (commissioners) were appointed, namely Midzuno Chikugo no Kami, Sakai Oki no Kami, Muragaki Awaji no Kami, Kato Iki no Kami, and Hori Oribe no Kami. In addition guards were stationed at Hommōku, Kanagawa, Haneda, Omori and other places, and the trade increased from day to day, according as the Kuantō officials had desired.

(36) Now Manabe Shimosa no Kami had been at Kioto ever since the 9th month of the previous year, and having arrested all the patriots and men of action, despatched them under a guard to Yedo. In the end of the 2nd month he also left Kioto and returned to Yedo.

After all the trials were over in Kuantō those who were condemned to suffer punishment were executed in two batches, in the autumn and winter. Yasushima Tatewaki, a high officer of Mito performed disembowelment, Kayane Iyo no suke, Ukai Kichizaemon, and his son Kokichi, Hashimoto Sanai, a retainer of Echizen, Yoshida Torajiro, a retainer of Chōshū, the Chinese



professor Rai Mikihachiro, the doctor Ii-idzumi Kinai and others were decapitated. The rest were condemned to banishment to distant islands, Konoye Sadaijin, the former Kuambaku, Takadzukasa Udaijin, and Sanjo Sadaijin were obliged to go into Monasteries. Higashibojo Dainagon was condemned to perpetual confinement in his own house, Awata no Miya, Ichijo Naidaijin, Nijo Dainagon, Kuga Udaijin, Hirohashi Dainagon, Madenokoji Dainagon, Okimachi-Sanjō Chiunagon, and Ohara Sammi were confined to their houses, and thus everything ended. This is called the crisis of Tsuchinoye m'ma (1858).



## VOL. II.

<sup>(1)</sup>For some time after this, the fear inspired by the military prestige of the Bakufu was such that no one dared to talk about politics, and Ii Kamon no Kami, acting as the Chief Adviser of the new Shogun, asserted his authority abroad throughout the empire. Yet still the enthusiasm of patriotic men increased. They maintained that rebellious acts like those of Shokiu\* and Kemmu were being repeated, simply owing to the violent and arbitrary way in which Ii Kamon no Kami governed. They felt indignation and hatred, while the people's hearts revolted.

<sup>(2)</sup>On the 21st November 1859 a fire broke out in the principal apartments of the castle at Yedo, which consumed the Shogun's residence, with all the adjoining buildings, while the flames spreading to towers of the enceinte burnt them down also. The Shogun removed to the buildings in the western enclosure.†

<sup>(3)</sup>In the beginning of the year 1860, Ii Kamon no Kami issued an order that in consequence of 1860 foreign trade, the current values of the coins relatively

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\* Shokiu, 1219-1221. The Emperor Juntoku tried to put down the Hojo family, who worked the Shogunate for the successors of Yoritomo, but failed, and was compelled to abdicate. Kemmu 1334-5. The war between the two branches of the Imperial dynasty commenced. One of the Prince of the blood was murdered by the rebel Ashikaga Tadayoshi. The family shortly afterwards seized the Shogunate: vide the Koku Shiriaku. Vols. III. p. 93 and IV.

† Usually occupied by the Shogun's heir apparent.

among themselves did not correspond with their true values and that a new coinage should be made. The value of the old gold was thus greatly enhanced. An order was issued that the *hoji koban*\* was to be exchanged for three *rios* one and a half *boos* of the new coinage; and that the *shoji*† *koban* was to be exchanged for two *rios* two and a quarter *boos*. Immediately the price of everything rose enormously, and the lower classes found themselves considerably impoverished, an effect attributed by most with great bitterness and hostility to the onerous government of Ii Kamon no Kami.

(4)On the 3rd day of the 3rd month (24th March,) all the daimios went to the castle to offer the usual compliments to the Shogun. Amongst them was the Regent, Ii Kamon no Kami, who set forth from his yashiki near the Sakurada gate in a palanquin. It was eight o'clock in the morning and the snow was falling heavily. As he approached the Sakurada gate seventeen or eighteen men, of ronin-like appearance rose from the side of the road, and attacked the palanquin in which Ii Kamon no Kami was riding. The attendants quite lost their heads from the suddenness with which the onslaught was made, and four or five of them were at once cut down, a great number of others being wounded. Most of them fled, but some young Samurai‡ nerved by a sense of shame, stopped and drew their swords in defence of their chief. The enemy, however, was desperate, and

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\* A piece of gold marked with the character *ho*; what foreigners call the old cobang.

† A piece of gold marked with the character *sho*.

‡ Samurai, literally a servant, *i. e.* a two-sworded man.

advanced resolutely upon them, so that Kada Kurota, Sawamura Gunroku, Kawanishi Chiuzaemon and others of the Hikone clan were killed on the spot. During the fight the palanquin was hurried back to the yashiki, in ignorance whether the Chiujo was alive or dead. The men who committed this act of violence were the following retainers of Mito dono; Sano Takenoské. Kurozawa Chiuzaburo, Ozeki Washichiro, Hiröoka Chisöjiro, Yamaguchi Tatsunoské, Mori Gorokuro, Sugiyama Yaichiro, Hasuda Ichigoro, Hayashi Chiuzaemon, Saito Kemmotsu, Koibuchi Kaname, Hiroki Matsunoské, Moriyama Hannoské, Inada Jiuzo, Mashiko Kimpachiro, Seki Yanoské, Takahashi Taichiro, and Arimura Jisaemon of the Satsuma clan. Sano, Koibuchi, Hiröoka, Yamaguchi and Arimura were severely wounded and committed suicide on the battle field or died fighting with the enemy. Saito died afterwards of his wounds. Ozeki, Mori, Sugiyama, Hasuda and Moriyama delivered themselves up at the yashiki of one of the Ministers, and were afterwards executed. Takahashi Taichiro escaped to Osaka, but finding it impossible to conceal himself, committed suicide at Tennoji. Each of them had in the bosom of his dress a document explaining that their object was to kill a traitor; it said that the Emperor had been pleased with the patriotism and loyalty displayed for many years by the old Prince of Mito and had graciously sent him an order.\* That Nawosuke Ason (Ii Kamon no Kami), in the arrogance of power had insulted the Imperial decree, and careless of the misery of the people, but making foreign intercourse

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\* An order to do his best to make the Shogun get rid of the Foreigners.

...the... of the... Blood. ...insulted ...the patriotic ...restrain their ...names, which ...heaven's ...and punish- ...corruption ...the

...of the ...This was ...and ...1861 ...as the same ...first sat on

...the Bakshi did ...day to day. ...poor. ...naturally hated ...prestige ...for three ...from this ...of all classes ...the territorial ...and have ...because they

“have insulted the officials of the Shogunate, and have  
“thirsted to serve the interests of the Sovereign to the  
“utmost of their power, therefore the prestige of the  
“Court grows from day to day, while the authority  
“of the Bakufu declines. If we are willing that this  
“should be, then there is nothing to be done. But if we  
“desire to restore the military prestige of the Tokugawa  
“family, the Kuambaku must be reinstated, the Imperial  
“Palace must be adorned and repaired, and the Emperor’s  
“sister brought down here to marry the Shogun.” Os-  
tensibly they proposed this marriage to the Imperial  
Court with the object of bringing about a union between  
the Mikado and the Shogun. The nobles of the Court  
assembled in Council, the arguments started were various,  
and it seemed as if no decision could be arrived at, but  
at last influenced by the Kuambaku and warned by the  
events of the previous year\* they advised the Emperor  
to grant the wishes of Kuanto. So it was determined  
by the Court that the marriage should take place, and  
on the 5th July, 1861 the Princess received the title  
of Kazu Miya and the rank of a Princess of the Blood,  
by an Imperial decree. Hereupon the Kuambaku received  
notice from Kuanto, that in consideration of the  
exertion made by him for years past in the interest of the  
State, his private income was increased by a thousand  
koku.

(7) In the end of the same month a comet appeared  
in the northward corner of the heaven; it was several  
hundred feet long, and seemed faintly to overspread the

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\* When so many Kugé had to *bite the dust* for opposing the Shogun’s officials.

sky, like a river of silver. In the end of the sixth month it became fainter, and shortly after disappeared altogether. Men said with fear that of late years, since the coming of the barbarians, domestic and foreign trouble had increased from day to day, and that this comet was probably a sign that war was imminent.

<sup>(8)</sup>On the 17th September, the old Prince of Mito, Nariaki, died at the age of sixty three. In the month of September of the last year but one, \*Temporin Saki no Naidaijin had died, and the world lamented profoundly the loss of these two Princes. Had they lived two or three years longer, heroism of the empire would have been excited to action, foreign trouble would have been swept away, domestic discord<sup>o</sup> have been quieted, and we should have headed the world. Having lost these two great men, one belonging to the Court, and the other to the Military caste, the state was likely to fall into ruin and decay.

<sup>(9)</sup>On the 11th November in the evening more than half the native town of Yokohama in Musashi was destroyed by fire, but the factories of the barbarians suffered no damage.

<sup>(10)</sup>On the 24th of November, the Princess, aged sixteen, started from the palace for the journey to Yedo. Along the road every magnificence was displayed and she was escorted by numerous nobles of the Court. The number of her retinue amounted to about thirty-five or thirty-six thousand men, and the towns on the road were crowded with them.

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\* A Kugé [Sanjō Sanetsumu].  
[<sup>o</sup> would]

On the 16th December, 1861, the Princess arrived at Yedo and took up her residence at the house of Shimidzu\* dono; and on the January 12th, 1862, she entered the castle.

<sup>(11)</sup>On the 1st day of the 1st month of the second year of Bunkiu (January 30th, 1862), the Sacred mirror in front of the Shrine of Kasuga at Nara broke into fragments, a noteworthy manifestation of the divine power, and all men were alarmed at this miracle, fearing that it prognosticated some great calamity to the Empire. The priests in charge of the shrine reported it to the Emperor, who sent presents on atonement.

<sup>(12)</sup>On the 14th February, as Ando Tsushima no Kami, one of the *Kakuro*, was going to the castle, some five or six two sworded-men, apparently belonging to the *ronin* class, attacked him in front of the board by which people are notified to get off their horses, at the Sakashita gate of the castle. They first discharged their small-arms, and then rushed from both sides upon the palanquin in which Tsushima no Kami was riding, with drawn swords. The retinue, being attacked in this sudden manner, lost their heads at first, but making a stand, fought with desperation. Tsushima no Kami received several wounds and several of his retinue were killed and wounded, but the assassins, to the number of seven were all killed. Each of them had in the bosom of his dress a document entitled "Reasons for killing a Traitor." These men were retainers of Hori Oribe no Kami who had been a commissioner for Foreign Affairs, and were named Mishima Sampei, Toyohara Kuninoske, Hosoya Chiusai, Yoshino Keiske, Asano Gisuke, Soma

\* One of the *Go-san-kio*; the others being Tayasu and Hitotsubashi.



Sennoske and Uchida Mannoske. The reason of this deed was, that in the spring of the previous year, the barbarians had asked permission to build factories at Yedo, and Tsushima no Kami proposed to lend the outer barbarians a piece of ground at Goten-yama measuring 80,000 tsuboes (about 66 acres), as that place was not wanted at the moment. Hori Oribe no Kami had opposed the scheme with all the arguments he could muster, and remonstrated with Tsushima no Kami, but the latter, using his authority as Minister, had acted in the most arbitrary manner, and had confined Hori Oribe no Kami, who, not being able to contain his indignation and wrath, disembowelled himself. His retainers in order to satisfy the resentment of their chief, and also determined not to let this disturber of the state escape just punishment, had taken this course.

<sup>(13)</sup>On the 11th March, the ceremony of the marriage of the Princess to the Shogun was performed in the Eastern Castle, and a notification was issued that she was henceforth to be styled the Midaidokoro\* Sama. In the end of April Ii Kamon no Kami (the son of the Kamon no Kami who was assassinated) went to Kioto as Kunto Envoy, and at an audience of the Mikado<sup>o</sup> informed His Majesty that the marriage ceremony had been duly performed.

<sup>(14)</sup>On the 7th May a great part of the native town of Yokohama was burnt.

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\* Daidokoro is the kitchen; that part of the house being held in Japan to be the wife's place; this title is given only to the Shogun's wife. In common language a mother is called Ofukuro, literally honourable bag.

<sup>1</sup><sup>o</sup> *Orig. going to the Court*]

<sup>(15)</sup>On the 4th May Shimadzu Idzumi (the real father of Shiuri no Taiyu, the present Prince of Satsuma) arrived at Himeji on his way to Yedo. Here several hundred vagabonds\* assembled like a flight of crows, to complain to Idzumi of the crimes of the Bakufu officials, and declared their noble purpose of laying the facts before the Mikado and of urging him to set forth to subjugate and expel the barbarians in person. Amongst these men were Tanaka Kawachi no ske, formerly a retainer of Nakayama dono, Hirano Jiro, a run-away from Chikuzen, Iii Kampei, Otani Yûsaku, Awoyama Tanomo, Hashimoto Keizo, Hara Rokuda, Tsuruta Toji, Sakai Denjiro, Aramaki Hanzaburo, Nakagaki Yaritaro, Asaka Goro, Ogawa Yayemon, Tanabe Denichiro, Baiga Miyato, Natsugawa Jiumpei, Hirose Yunoshin, Yano Kanzaburo, Kiniu Setsu, Kawakami Shikibu, Sekiyama Tadashi, Kobayashi Shogen, Kawakami Hikosuké, Arima Shinshichi, Hashiguchi Shoské, Tagawa Kamaské, Yamada Jiubei, Shibayama Aijiro, Deshimaru Rioské Nishida Nawogoro, Imuda Shohei, Moriyama Shingozacmon, Yamamoto Shiro, Kaya Yeita, Takenoshita Kumao, Todoroki Buhei, Yazawa Kanshiro, Muramatsu Seizo, Mori Tamahiko, Uno Kenzo, Mori Kamanosuké, and these with many others were of one mind on the subject. Hirano Jiro Kunitomi was their leader, and presented a document to Idzumi for him to hand to the Mikado. It stated that after consultation they had arrived at the following conclusion: that since the violation of the fundamental laws of the Empire by the Bakufu officials.

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\* Vagabond is not here a term of reproach, but is the nearest English to ronin.

in 1854 the cunning barbarians had been swaggering, and the time agreed upon for the opening of Osaka, Hiogo and Sakái, would be up this month. If these three ports were opened, the barbarians would build fortifications therein under the name of commercial factories; they would then garrison them, anchoring their ships close by, and build batteries. Thus they would get possession of all the strategical points on land and sea, and cut us off from going to help each other, dividing the Empire as it were into two halves. Then the Imperial residence would be in as dangerous a condition as a heap of eggs, and we should be without the means of expelling the barbarians; it was plain that we should have to adopt the habits of folding the left lappet over the right, and of writing across the page, and have to use their stinking calendar. Therefore the patriots of the Western provinces had secretly consulted, and desired to carry out their aspiration of performing a noble deed; but as the numbers of their band were not more than a few hundred, not only could they not carry out their aspiration, but were likely to bring upon themselves future disaster; and they thought that without the assistance of one great daimio they could not succeed; they had therefore been to Satsuma to find out how that country was disposed, and had found the whole province animated by the most ardent zeal. Having heard that Idzumi was going to Yedo, they had communicated with the ronin patriots of the western provinces, of Shikoku and Kiu-shiu, and had concealed themselves in Kioto and Osaka to wait for his passing through, in order to declare to *him their desire* to do some great deed and restore the

old state of things. They wished him, during his stay in Osaka, to take the castle of that place by assault, to burn the castle of Hikone, and slay the garrison of the castle of Nijo\*; at the same time to lead a force to Kioto, drive out the Bakufu officials, set free the Princes and nobles from confinement, and after issuing the Mikado's orders to all the daimios of the seven circuits, to carry the phoenix-car (the Mikado's palanquin) over Hakone, and punish the crimes of the Bakufu. Idzumi praised these low-class Samurai for their loyal and honest feelings, and not seeing his way, perhaps, to refusing them, accepted the scheme, and proceeded to Osaka at the head of the band, whence he advanced to Fushimi. Just at this time the Prince of Chikuzen had arrived at Okuradani in Harima, on his way to Yedo to take his turn of duty. Hirano Jiro, seeing that he was his old chief communicated to him the scheme on foot, and the matter was discussed between them, but for some reason or other, he accused Hirano of having formerly offended against the laws of Chikuzen, arrested him, and instead of proceeding to Yedo, returned home himself at once. Hirano Jiro was conveyed back to his native province, and put in prison.

(16) *Note.* — The leader in this business, Hirano Jiro, had grieved over the violation of laws of the Empire consequent on the arrival of the barbarians in 1854, and had exerted himself most vigorously to support the expulsion policy and the cause of the Mikado. In 1858, he absconded from his native province and came to Kioto, where he plotted with men of the same views, and hoped to accomplish his original aspiration, but at that period the prestige of the *Bakufu* was very great, and the search after low class two-sworded men was so vigorously prosecuted, that he did not dare to stop at either Kioto or Osaka; so in company with a

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\* The Shogun's castle at Kioto.

sympathetic friend the priest of the temple Kiyomidzu, named Shojiu-in he went down into the western provinces to escape the danger ; but the time was not ripe for the execution of his plans, and being unable to find an abiding place, he had to travel under great difficulties from place to place. The priest jumped into the bay of Satsuma and so put an end to his existence. Hirano alone managed to keep his skin whole, and hid himself here and there ; and having about this time heard that Idzumi was going to Kioto, he called his confederates together, and put himself at their head to accomplish glorious deeds.

(17) On the 9th of May Shimadzu Idzumi arrived at the town of Fushimi at the head of this band of men. Previously to this, the Governor of Fushimi, Hayashi Higo no Kami had heard of this rising in Harima, and was sore afraid. He at once despatched a messenger post-haste to Kioto, to inform Sakai Wakasa no Kami, the Shogun's Resident. Wakasa no Kami was so alarmed, that he assembled all the Bakufu officials in Kioto ; and under the impression that Shimadzu Idzumi might lead the band to attack the city at any moment, braced on his armour and occupied the Castle of Nijo in force. Here he made every preparation for a fight, and worked day and night to put himself in a posture of defence. He sent to the Imperial Court to say that the ronins might at any moment make rebellious and violent demands upon His Majesty, but that he must not be alarmed into any sudden unconsidered measures ; that if the ronins proceeded to commit acts of violence, he would apply all the power of the country and take command of the guards of the different clans to subjugate them. This message he despatched through the Tenso Hirohashi Jiundaijin and Bojo Dainagon. The townspeople were greatly alarmed by all this commotion, and carried away all their household goods, expecting that

fighting would commence in the capital in a day or two; the town was said to look like a desert, and was convulsed from end to end. However, on the 14th, Shimadzu Idzumi entered Kioto quietly and without making any disturbance. He sent a letter to Konoye dono, to say that he was going to Yedo to assist the Bakufu in reforming their bad system of government; that they had since 1858 neglected the orders of the Mikado, and had traded with the outer barbarians; had imprisoned moreover upright Princes and Kugé, Hitotsubashi, and other patriotic *daimio* and *hatamoto*,\* had put to death and banished those of lesser degree, and that he heard His Majesty was sorely grieved at these proceedings; that the popular mind in all the provinces was excited; that *ronins* maintained the duty of respecting the Sovereign and driving out the barbarians, and held patriotic and violent views; that they had assassinated the Regent and had murdered barbarians; that in consequence of the repressive measures taken by the Bakufu officials, they were still more determined than ever; that he had heard they were resolved on some deed which would be the cause of great complications. That then the whole country would be plunged into confusion, and not only would the Mikado's supporters not succeed, but on the contrary it was to be feared that they would all fall into the traps set by the barbarians. That he had set out for Yedo, intending to represent the gravity of the crisis to the Shogun, and on his road thither at Himeji in Harima a number of ronins from all parts had

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\* Hatamoto were vassals of the Shogun, who possessed land under 10,000 koku.

come together, and waited for him on the road, and had made such and such statements to him; that unable to withstand their ardent desires he had brought them with him to the town of Fushimi, where he had left them; because he thought he ought to put in an appearance at Court, and submit to His Majesty the memorial handed to him by these ronins. The Giso were of opinion that he had pursued a right course, and<sup>o</sup> reported everything to the Mikado, who was highly delighted. He ordered Idzumi to remain at Kioto a short time to quiet the excitement among the ronins of all parts, and give tranquillity to the Empire. Idzumi accepted this commission with gratitude, and remained a while at the capital.

(18) Amongst the ronins who had remained at Naniwa were some Satsuma men who had abandoned their clan (*ronin*) named Arima Shinshichi, Tanaka Kamasuke, Shibayama Torajiro, Hashiguchi Denzo, Hashiguchi Shozo, Moriyama Shingozaemon, Deshimaru Shinsuke, Nishida Nawotaro, and others, who on the 20th of May arrived at Fushimi, and hired lodgings in the house of one Teradaya, who kept boats on the river. These men were of a very turbulent character, and found fault with the proceeding of Shimadzu Idzumi as being too slow. As they were too full of their own ideas, their companions tried to calm them, but they would not listen and appeared to be on the point of proceeding to commit acts of violence. Their fellow-clansmen Narabara Kihachiro, Yamaguchi Kinnoshin, Michijima Gorobci, Enatsu Nakazaemon and others had a quarrel

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[<sup>o</sup> Eleven words from *were* to *and* to be cancelled.]

with them on the subject, and both sides drew their swords. Arima Shinshichiro and seven others were all killed, while eight men were wounded on Narabara's side, and Michijima Gorobei was killed. The bodies of Arima Shinshichiro and the others were buried at the temple called Daikoku-an. The officials of the Bakufu were terrified by the decision and energy of the Shimadzu family and by the fierceness of the *ronins*.

(19) For some time previous to this, the Prince of Choshu, Mori Daizen no Daibu had grieved sorely over the internal troubles which had arisen since the coming of the barbarians, and last year, being at Yedo, he had frequently offered his opinion to the Bakufu, though without his advice being adopted on a single occasion. He had therefore pressed the *Kakuro* Kuze Yamato no Kami to give him an answer about the settlement of the barbarian question, and the *Kakuro* had replied that the Mikado's consent having been obtained, a treaty of amity had been concluded, and that it could not be now suddenly withdrawn from. The Prince of Choshu responded that such was certainly not the case; that the treaties had been entered into before the Mikado's permission had been obtained, and that this sort of arbitrary government on the part of the Bakufu had highly offended the Mikado, as he had heard. That if such a method of government were pursued, it was to be feared that before long the *ronins* of all the provinces would some day offer their support to the great daimios of the West, would rush to Kioto and possessing themselves of the Mikado, get him to send out orders in all directions. He knew it, because, the year before, he had sent his



retainer Nagai Uta to Kioto to find out all about it, and as Nagai knew the ins and outs of the question perfectly, the *kakuro* had better ask him for information. Kuze Yamato no Kami was greatly alarmed, and at once sent for Nagai Uta to ask him for particulars. As there seemed to be no doubt about the truth of Nagai's statements, he begged him to undertake to bring about a reconciliation with the Court, and having well instructed him, and loaded him with presents, sent him in the month of March to Kioto, accompanied by Raihara Riozo of the same clan. Nagai Uta was a man of transcendent ability, and well acquainted with Chinese and Japanese history, besides being possessed of general knowledge on many other subjects. As soon as he arrived at Kioto, he called on the Giso Nakayama Dainagon, and said to him that in the present critical state of political affairs a breach between the Mikado and the Shogun would lead to consequence highly to be deplored. The Bakufu, taken aback by the fierceness of the barbarians, had opened ports before the consent of the Imperial Court had been obtained, and had concluded treaties stipulating for mutual friendship and trade. The Mikado had, it appeared, been highly displeased, and, after enquiring into the proceedings of Kuantō, had demanded not without reason the rescission of the Treaties. Still, if Kuantō were to offer, without a show of reason, to rescind the Treaties once concluded with foreign countries, war would certainly break out, and the country be exposed to great misfortunes. Let the Mikado therefore act with clemency, and passing over the offences hitherto committed by the Bakufu, become

reconciled to the Shogun. As it was impossible at the present moment to shut the ports and expel the barbarians, let His Majesty decree resolutely the permission to navigate the high seas; we could then hunt up the nest of these people, show our people that they were not so formidable after all, and thus make the military glory of the Empire known beyond the seas. Exhausting all the arguments he could conceive, he supported the views of the Bakufu, but the Imperial Court refused to admit the arguments put forward by him, on account of the zeal excited amongst the military and civilians by the late arrival of Shimadzu Idzumi at Kioto. In fact his master lost favour, on the contrary, and he himself was obliged to retire into confinement at the Choshu Yashiki. In the month of April of the next year, he disembowelled himself and died.

Raihara Riozo who had accompanied Nagai to Kioto on this occasion, was a Samurai of honour, and blushed for the disgraceful conduct of his companion; after returning to Yedo he disembowelled himself in a most heroic and honourable manner.

(20) Constant reports came post haste to Kanto from the Bakufu officials resident in Kioto of the uprising of *ronins* there, that Shimadzu hounded on the ronins, and had offered advice to the Imperial Court. The *Kakuro* Itakura Suwo no Kami\*, Naito Kii no Kami, Sakai Uta no Kami, Midzuno Idzumi no Kami and Matsudaira Buzen no Kami were greatly perplexed. To a certainty, the Mikado would give an order to punish the crimes of the

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\* Afterwards known as Iga no Kami. He was faithful to the Shogun Keiki almost to the last.

Bakufu, and to release the persons belonging to the civil and military classes (i. e. the Kuge and the daimios) who had been condemned to various degrees of confinement on account of the disturbances of 1858. Already under pretext of the auspicious marriage of the Princess a general amnesty had been proclaimed. Consequently on the 24th of May, Owari Saki no Chiunagon, Hitotsubashi Giobukio, Matsudaira Shungaku\*, Yamanouchi Yodo† and all the rest had been released from confinement. At Kioto also, Takadzukasa Taiko,‡ Konoye Sadaijin, Takadzukasa Udaijin, Awata no Miya and others were released from confinement.

<sup>(21)</sup>Now, the prince of Choshu set out from Yedo to return to his territories and arrived at Kioto on the 28th of May. On inquiring after the Emperor's health, he was informed that Shimadzu Idzumi had been ordered to keep quiet the ronins who had risen in the vicinity of the home provinces, and was further told to assist Idzumi with all the resources of his clan. The prince of Choshu accepted the commission, and remained at Kioto to give all the assistance in his power.

His Majesty being pleased at the loyalty which had induced Idzumi to put himself forward as the leader of the supporters of the throne, and discovering for that reason a resemblance between him and Kojima Bingosaburo of old, expressed a desire to him that he should change his name from Idzumi to Saburo, and henceforward he went by the name of Shimadzu Saburo.

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\* Prince of Echizen.

† Prince of Tosa.

‡ Title given always to the Kuambaku on his retirement.

<sup>(22)</sup>About this time Kuze Yamato no Kami received notice to proceed to Kioto, in order to receive the commands of His Majesty, and set out from Yedo with the intention of so doing; but on the road he received certain information of the state of affairs at the capital, which so alarmed him that he returned back at Sumpu on pretence of sickness, and came back to Yedo.

<sup>(23)</sup>On the night of the 5th July,\* fifteen or sixteen ronins made a sudden attack on the residence of the barbarians at Tozenji in Takanawa, a suburb of Yedo. The guards, who were retainers of Matsudaira Tokinoske, defended the place and eight of the ronins were killed; eight of the guards also were cut down, and several wounded. One barbarian and a priest of the temple were also killed. The ronins who were killed on this occasion were the following retainers of Mito dono, Ariga Hanjiro, Kimura Shimpachiro. Furukawa Shumenoske, Kobori Sadakichi, Yamazaki Shinnoske, Nakamura Sadaske, and Ishii Kinjiro. What became of the other is not known.

<sup>(24)</sup>When it was known in the castle at Yedo that the influence of the Imperial Court was becoming so great, there were great changes made in the personnel of the officials. Wakizaka Awaji no Kami, who had formerly been the Shogun's resident at Kioto and had acquired a complete acquaintance with the affairs of the Court during his long stay there, was now placed on the list of Ministers, and received the title of Nakadzukasa no Taiyu. Tayasu dono resigned his office of guardian to the Shogun.

<sup>(25)</sup>The Imperial Court therefore, to ensure the

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\* This paragraph belongs to the events of the previous year. The author has made a mistake.

execution of the determined purpose of the Mikado, decided that Ohara Jiu-sammi should be sent as Imperial Envoy to Yedo. He was raised to the rank of Shosammi and appointed Sayemon no Kami, and left Kioto on the 18th June, being escorted along the road by Shimadzu Saburo, whose men to the number of six hundred, will armed with muskets and other weapons, presented a brilliant and impressive appearance.

<sup>(23)</sup>At Yedo the report had been received of the uprising of the *ronins* at Kioto and of the tumultuous state of things in consequence. The *Kakuro* Sakai Uta no Kami was appointed to superintend the police of the western capital, and left for that place on the 15th June, arriving at Kioto on the 6th July; but the Imperial Envoy had already left escorted by the house of Shimadzu. The house of Mori, in the full blaze of military glory, was stopping at Kioto, and appearing to guard the Imperial Court, so that its influence rose like the morning sun. All the Bakufu officials seemed shrivelled up with fear, so Sakai Uta no Kami, thinking it no doubt a strange state of things, installed himself and his men in the temple called Hommanji, and kept himself in the dark. The Shogun's Resident Sakai Wakasa no Kami, being permitted to resign his office, left for Yedo in the end of the same month. Matsudaira Hoki no Kami of Miyadzu was appointed acting Resident, but under the pretence of sickness, declined to go to Kioto.

<sup>(27)</sup>On the 8th July Konoye Sadaijin was appointed Kuambaku, and Awata no Miya returned to his former residence at Shorenin. His Majesty, in consideration of the exertions made by the late Prince of Mito and

of his great services, conferred on him the posthumous title of Dainagon; and in recognition of the merits of Sanjo Naidaijin, who after having for years exhausted his strength in the service of the state, had died whilst under sentence of confinement, His Majesty sent Hirohata Dainagon and the Imperial Envoy Takatsuji Shonagon to the temple of Nisonin on the west of Kioto to carry to him the posthumous title of Udaijin.

(28) On the night of the 10th August stars flew across the heavens in all directions to the number of several hundreds of millions.

(29) Later on in the month Chigusa Shosho, Iwakura Shosho,\* Tomi-no-koji Nakazukasa no Taiyu, accused of having misbehaved themselves in connection with Kunto affairs, were condemned to become priests<sup>o</sup> and live in perpetual seclusion outside the capital. Kujo the retired *kuambaku*, was condemned to a severe form of seclusion, to shave his head, to take the name of Yenshin, and to reside in confinement in the village of Kujo. Kuga Naidaijin, resigned the title of Udaisho, and shaving his head and retiring into seclusion, took the name of Sodo. Kuze Sammi was ordered to keep within closed doors, Shosho no Naishi had to shave her head, and Uyemon no Naishi was granted a long furlough.

(30) On the night of the 16th August, the head of Shimada Sahioye no Gondaijo, retainer of Kujo dono, was cut off by ronins, as it was believed, and stuck on the end of a bamboo pole, as on a pillory, in the bed

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\* The same who after the revolution shared the office of Iiosho with Sanjo.

[<sup>o</sup> Orig. to shave their heads]

of the Kamogawa\* on the North of the Shijo bridge. In front was set up a board declaring the nature of his crime; it said, "this individual was a rebellious traitor who contrived treason in combination with Nagano Shiuzen; he is a traitor whom heaven and earth cannot tolerate; wherefore he has been executed and his head pilloried." This Shimada Sahioye in the autumn of 1858 had become a Kuantō spy, and had, in company with Nagano Shiuzen of the Hikone clan, caused the death of honest patriots belonging to the Kuge families by his slanders; the lower two sworded men appear to have done this to avenge his victims.

<sup>(31)</sup>About the end of August, a marvellous star appeared in the northwest; it emitted a white vapour, and passing over head spread out over the south east; after a while it gradually got back to the northwest; in September it got round slowly to the west, and disappeared. Of late years, some great event had always occurred after the appearance of miraculous star, and therefore when such a star appeared again now, people discussed whether it was a forerunner of some great calamity impending over the empire; or whether it was a good omen prognosticating the uprising of the ronins of the western provinces, and the increase of the national glory through their possessing themselves of the Imperial prestige; but at any rate disturbances of some sort or another were expected.

<sup>(32)</sup>On the 2nd July the Imperial Envoy Ohara Sakin-go arrived at Shinagawa, and entered the castle on the 6th. The Shogun invited him to the hall called Teikan-

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\* The river at Kioto, the shingly bed of which is usually half dry.

no-ma and Sakingo there delivered to him his message.

The message declared that, since barbarian vessels had commenced to visit this country, the barbarians had conducted themselves in an insolent manner, without any interference on the part of the Bakufu officials, with the result of disturbing the peace of the empire and plunging the people into misery. That His Majesty was profoundly distressed at these things, and the Bakufu on that occasion had replied that of late discord had arisen among the people, and that it was therefore impossible to raise an army for the expulsion of the barbarians; and they had said that if His Majesty would graciously give his sister in marriage to the Shogun, the Court and Camp would be reconciled, the people would put forth their efforts, and the barbarians be swept away. Thereupon His Majesty good naturedly granted the request and permitted the Princess Kazu to go down to Kuantō. Contrary however to all expectation, traitorous officials became more and more intimate with the barbarians, and treated the Royal Family as if they were nobody; in order to steal a day of tranquillity they forgot the long years of trouble to follow, and were close upon the point of asking the barbarians to take them under their jurisdiction. The nation had become more and more turbulent; of late, therefore, the ronins of the Western provinces had assembled in a body to urge the Mikado to ride to Hakone, and after punishing the traitorous officials to drive out the barbarians. The two clans of Satsuma and Choshiu had pacified these men, and were willing to lend their assistance to the Court and Camp in order to drive out the barbarians. The Shogun (Taïju



ko)\* must proceed to Kioto to take counsel with the nobles of the Court, and exert himself thoroughly; must send forth orders to the clans of the home provinces and seven circuits, and performing within a few days the exploit of expelling the barbarians, restore tranquillity to the empire. On the one hand, he must appease the sacred wrath of the divine ancestors of the Mikado, and on the other lay the basis of the return of faithful servants to their allegiance, and of the peace and prosperity of the people, thus giving to the empire the immovable security of Taizan†. Or secondly, in accordance with the law laid down by Toyotomi‡ Taiko, that five of the great maritime daimios should assist in the Government with the title of the Five Tairo,§ defend the country against the barbarians, and keep up the defences in a proper condition, and then perform the exploit of driving out the foreigners. Or thirdly, that Hitotsubashi Giobukio should be directed to assist the Shogun, and that Echizen Chiujo|| should be appointed Tairo to assist the Bakufu in its conduct on domestic and foreign affairs. That one of these three proposals must be accepted in order to prevent the disgrace of having to fold the left lappet over the right.

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\* Literally the Great Tree Prince, because a general's duty in battle is to sit under a tree, and Shogun means generalissimo. The castle at Yedo, and thence the Shogun's government was called *Rinzei* or Willow Building.

† A mountain in Hupeh in China.

‡ This is the person usually called Taikosama, and stated in most foreign works on Japan to have been the 1st Shogun. He was never Shogun; the title of Taiko, great lord, indicates that he had been Kuambaku. His first name was Hiyoshimaru and after many changes he took that of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

§ Chief elders.

|| Shungaku.

The Shogun received the Imperial commands with respect, and on the 27th July gave a formal answer that he accepted them. In accordance with the wishes expressed by the Mikado, Hitotsubashi Gyobukio was appointed a Chiunagon, and made guardian to the Shogun; Echizen Shungaku was appointed to the office of Supreme Exerciser of the Governmental Authority (Seiji-so-sai-shoku). Kazu Miya, who had been called Midaidokoro since her entry into Kuantō, assumed again the title of Princess Kazu. Kuze Yamato no Kami, Naito Kii no Kami, and Ando Tsushima no Kami were dismissed from the post of Minister.

<sup>(33)</sup> Thus the Imperial will was obeyed in Kuantō, and on the 15th September, Ohara dono left Yedo to return to Kioto. Shimadzu Idzumi had left Yedo on the 13th in advance of Ohara dono, and on arriving at Namamugi in Musashi, fell in with English barbarians riding on horseback. They passed through of front of Shimadzu's retinue, and behaved in a rude manner. The light infantry in front of the procession rebuked them for their rudeness, and killed three of them on the spot. After this, the military glory of the house of Shimadzu shone more and more brightly.

<sup>(34)</sup> On the 29th September, Ohara Sakingo arrived back at Kioto. His Majesty was much delighted and praised Ohara and Shimadzu for the great deeds they had accomplished; he gave Ohara permission to wear the *hitatare*,\* and sent orders to Kuantō to confer on Shimadzu Saburo the title of Osumi no Kami with the rank of Jiu-go-i-no-ge. Hereupon the Guardian of the

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\* A dress worn by the *daijin*, or highest Ministers of State.

Shogun, Yoshinobu\* and the Sosai Shungaku replied that they declined to do so, and so this promotion in rank was deferred for a while; but His Majesty gave Shimadzu a gold mounted sabre, to his intense gratification, and Shimadzu then left Kioto on the 15th October for his country.

<sup>(35)</sup>In the end of September, Matsudaira Tosa no Kami entered Kioto. He received a message from the Court to say that Satsuma and Chosiu had lately been stopping at the capital, and had exerted themselves strongly (in the Mikado's cause), and that he must also stay there awhile, and join his efforts to those of Satsuma and Chosiu in the service of the state. This order he accepted with gratitude, and taking up his residence in his yashiki in Kawaramachi, devoted himself to business.

From this time everybody talked of the three clans of Satsuma, Chosiu and Tosa, and their influence was enormous.

<sup>(36)</sup>On October 17th a great reformation was proclaimed at Yedo, with reference to styles of dress and the attendance of the Daimios at Yedo. The Obiroma Daimios† were to remain at Yedo a hundred days every three years, the Tamari-no-ma Daimios (the Tozama or lesser independent Daimios and the greater vassals of the Tokugawa family) were to spend one year out of there at Yedo; the small Daimios, called Fudai and the

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\* Also called Keiki, and Hitotsubashi. *Keiki* is the Chinese<sup>o</sup> pronunciation of the two characters with which Yoshinobu is written.

† Those called *Kokushiu* or Lords of provinces, such as Satsuma, Chosiu, Tosa, Owari, etc.

[<sup>o</sup> another]

Tozama Daimios of the *Gan no ma*, the *Soshaban*, the *Kikunoma*, and the smaller vassals of the Shogun called *Hatamoto* were to pass two hundred days at Yedo every year. Those who had formerly been obliged to reside the whole year at Yedo might now return, by asking for permission, to their territories situated in different parts of the country. The Daimios and greater *Hatamotos* had formerly been obliged to leave their wives and children at Yedo, but now they might return home at their own option. In addition, the custom of making presents every three months to the Shogun and of receiving gifts from him was abolished. The Daimios might hurry to the castle whenever they wished, and their retinues might be considerably diminished. Their ordinary clothes for the future were to be the *haori* (mantle) and *kohakama* (trowsers) or the *machi-takabakama* (riding trowsers). On days of ceremony it was not necessary to wear the *Noshimé*\*. Other rules were established and regulations issued. In consequence all the Daimios and the *hatamotos* who owned lands sent their wives and children to their country residences, and in the twinkling of an eye the flourishing city of Yedo became like a desert; so that the Daimios allied to the Tokugawa family, and the Tokugawa family and the vassals of the Shogunate of all ranks, and the townspeople too, grieved and lamented. They would have liked to see the military glory of Kwantō shine again, but as the great and small Daimios who were not vassals of Tokugawa had cut at the root<sup>o</sup> of this forced residence

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\* A dress the upper and lower parts of which were of different colours.

[<sup>o</sup> This follows a mistake of the original. Cf. it.]

in Yedo, and few of them obeyed any longer the commands of the Bakufu, they also began to distrust it, and gradually the hearts of the people fell away. And so the prestige of the Tokugawa family, which had endured for three hundred years, which had been really more brilliant than Kamakura in the age of Yoritomo, on a moonlight night when the stars are shining, which for more than two hundred and seventy years had forced the Daimios to come breathlessly to take their turn of duty in Yedo, and had day and night eighty thousand vassals at its beck and call, fell to ruin in the space of one morning.

(57) *Note*.—A friend of mine said in an inquiring tone: “The decadence of the Shogunate was caused by the temporizing conduct of its officials, who were frightened by the tricks and lies of the barbarians ever since they first visited us in their ships. This temporizing policy had been the cause of many crooked dealings, and even the lowest classes began to dislike the Government, and men’s hearts had fallen gradually away, so that the prestige of the Shogunate was lost past all recovery. But the Bakufu by its own orders had relaxed the system of Daimios coming in turn to do duty at Yedo, and had let them remove their families to their possession in the provinces, and thus brought about its downfall by its own acts. Do you not think so? I replied, as you say, the Bakufu, conscious of having failed in its duty, is now frightened at the orders of the Mikado, and cannot venture to disobey in any one point. It is certain that hence forward the Daimios will stand aloof from the Shogun, and in obedience to the Mikado’s orders, do all they can to forward his fall. If the Mikado gives an order to the Shogun he dares not disobey. The proof of it is, before the Mikado had time to give the order, the Bakufu itself issued a decree, in consideration of the poverty of the Daimios, that they should devise a plan for enriching the country and strengthening its defences.” My friend acknowledged the truth of this, and said that certainly it must be so.

(38) On the morning of the 24th October, the head of a man aged about thirty was found in the bed of the river near the Shijo bridge, stuck on the end of a green bamboo,

as if pilloried. On the placard was written, "Homma "Seiichiro; this individual has excited people by his "falsehoods; has got admittance into the houses of high "personages, and with his insinuating tongue has slander- "ed Samurai of Satsuma, Choshu, and Tosa; he has "intrigued with the vile object of creating disunion "among patriots." This Seiichiro was originally an Echigo *ronin*, and for some years past had conspired with honest patriots to forward the interests of the sovereign, but on account of some quarrel or other, had finished by behaving in this way. On the morning of the 16th, the head of Ugo Gamba no Kami, retainer of Kujo dono, was found in the bed of the river by Matsubara stuck on the end of a spear; the placard said, "this individual conspired "with Shimada, to bring undeserved odium on his "master's house; his crime being even greater than "that of Shimada, heaven punishes him thus." On the 23rd October the naked corpse of a police spy named Bunkichi was found, with hands and feet tied, in the shingly bed of the river, near the Sanjo bridge. The placard said, "this individual was a follower of Shimada "Sakon for many years, and assisted him in his machina- "tions. Since 1855 he has devoted his soul to the cause "of the traitorous officials, has injured loyal patriots "in various ways, and compassed their death. Thus "is it done to him, to punish his lust for gold." On the morning of the 15th November, the heads of Watanabe Kinsaburo, Mori Magoroku and Okawara Juso, policemen in the service of the civil Governor were pilloried at the Awata entrance on the east of the capital. The placard said "Since 1858 these men have assisted

“Nagano Shiuzen and Shimada Sakon in their traitorous schemes, and have caused innocent patriots to be condemned for offences which they had not committed. Thus are they punished for their crimes.” A crowd went to stare at the exhibition. In consequence the Bakufu officials concerned with affairs since 1858 were in a great state of alarm, and one of the police named Odera Chiuzo disembowelled himself, while Takaya Skezo shaved his head and disappeared no one knew whither. Some abandoned their hereditary appointments, their household goods and families, and fled far away to hide their shadows from sight. They dreaded the ronins as if they had been tigers or wolves, and remained shrivelled up with fear.

When the Bakufu officials, who had hitherto stood upon their dignity, and treated the peasants and tradespeople as if they were the dust of the earth, acted thus, the ronins began to feel puffed up and seemed inclined to become violent, but they only desired in reality to help the right and punish the wicked.

They appeared to be a sort of *otokodate*, and in reality they only did justice on traitors, or if they heard that some wicked tradesman had bought up any article, with the object of raising the price and thus afflicting the people, no matter what the distance, they hastened to the spot, and after inquiring into the facts of the case, inflicted condign punishment; so that they were feared more than the Bakufu officials, and prices at once went down. So all men in secret honoured the ronins, and every one called them “the righteous samurai,” or “the loyal samurai,” or “the avengers of heaven.”

(29) *Note*.—Many different views were taken about the ronins who performed these noble deeds, and it is difficult to give a decided opinion upon the whole question. The Bakufu officials looked upon them as disturbers of the peace; they believed that these men, relying on the intrepidity which naturally communicates itself to a band of ruffians, treated the Bakufu with insolence and contempt, and envying the prestige formerly enjoyed by the officials of the Bakufu, desired to take advantage of this state of things to root them out. They said that amongst the lower two-sworded men there were some who hoped to get an opportunity of *rising in the world* by fighting at the present juncture, and who had absconded from their clans with that idea. That this could be seen from the fact that the men who left their clans were of the lower class, and that it was not the higher retainers. It seems that they believed profoundly in this view of the question. The reason I hold this opinion is that three or four volumes written by Kwantō men on the politics of the time all take this side. However, even supposing that there were some men of this description, I think it may be concluded that on the whole they were men over-excited by good motives, or men who had studied Japanese antiquities. Besides, what is the reason that patriots were found among the inferior Samurai alone, and not among the chief retainers? During a long peace, personages in high places did not know how the lower classes suffered. Hence the inferior Samurai understood best the feelings which existed among the common people, and being aware of the dangerous pass to which their part of the country had got, constantly warned and advised those who possessed the authority; but the chief retainers, sunk in slothful ease, treated these men as turbulent agitators, and would not take their advice. Besides, many who were enraged that their words did not find their way to the ears they were intended for, and that their aspirations could not be attained, abandoned their property and families, and absconded from the provinces their ancestors had inhabited before them, because they were desirous of warding off the peril. And in order to save their native provinces, they thought it their duty to take the post of danger, and render all the assistance in their power. Most of them were animated by these motives. Amongst them there were some who thought that if the barbarians were treated in a friendly manner we should fall into their snares, and that the provinces they belonged to would become their prey. Others there were who sincerely looked upon the barbarians as little better than beasts and birds, and thought it a disgrace and a pollution to the empire to be friendly with such people.



Then there were those who hated the Bakufu officials for the greed which they so constantly displayed, and desired to root them up. All their acts seem to have proceeded from some noble, disinterested motive.

(40) The tombs of the Emperor's ancestors, beginning with Jimmu tenno, were in a disgraceful state of dilapidation, and His Majesty was sore distressed about it. For some time past Toda Echizen no Kami had cherished the wish to repair them, and the Shogun had directed him to see that the sepulchres were restored. He accepted the task respectfully, and having a retainer named Mase Washichiro learned in the old native writers, and earnestly desirous of superintending the repairs of the tombs, had got permission for him to be commissioner for the work. Washichiro, grateful for the trust reposed in him, exhausted every possible means, and gradually the repairs arrived at their completion. His Majesty was highly gratified, and conferred on him the rank of Jiu-go-i-no-ge with the title of Toda Yamato no Kami, and he was appointed permanent commissioner for the Imperial tombs.

(41) About this time the Daimios of the Western provinces came gradually into Kioto. Amongst them were Matsudaira Sagami no Kami (Inshiu), Matsudaira Mino no Kami (Chikuzen), Matsudaira Aki no Kami (Geishiu), Arima Nakadzukasa no Taiyu (Kurume), Date Totomi no Kami (Uwajima), Matsudaira Awaji no Kami (Awa), Ikeda Shinano no Kami (Cadet of Bizen) and Hosokawa Rionoske (younger brother of the prince of Higo). These men were the vanguard of a body of more than forty Daimios who came up to Kioto the following spring and stayed there. All the large

temples of the capital were occupied as the headquarters of Daimios, and those who could not be accommodated within the city got temples in the neighbouring villages. Kioto had never been so crowded since the visit of Iyemitsu, third Shogun, in 1634.

<sup>(42)</sup>On the third of December, Sanjo Chiunagon Sanetomi\* as Imperial Envoy, and Anenokoji Shosho as second Envoy started for Kuantō. Matsudaira Tosa no Kami accompanied them along the road as their escort. On the 24th December Nakagawa Shuri no Tayu\*\* was going to pass through the town of Fushimi on his way to stop at Yedo for his term of duty. Now at a time like the present, when all the Daimios of the west who were devoted to the throne were hastening to Kioto, and exerting themselves on behalf of the state, to pass through a town so close to the capital without the slightest intention of asking after the Mikado's health, was a slight offered to the Court and therefore a crime. The Prince Awata and the Kuambaku gave orders that his conduct should be rigidly inquired into, and in consequence a number of patriots proceeded at once to Fushimi, cut off the Daimio of Oka, and demanded an explanation. The Daimio obeyed the orders of the Court, and entering Kioto, took up his residence in the temple called To-ji-in on the west of the city.

<sup>(43)</sup>A retainer of Nakagawa Shuri no Tayu, named Ogawa Yayemon, had collected together a number of his confederates and had gone to the capital in May, at the same time as Lord Shimadzu, where he had

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\* Afterward Udaijin and prime Minister of the Mikado.

\*\* of Oka in Bungo, 70,000 koku, tozama.

been working for the good cause. His Majesty having heard of this, had rewarded him for his loyalty in October together with Shimadzu Saburo. On returning to his native province, Yayemon was put in confinement, in order that his chief might not incur the suspicions of the Bakufu. Shuri no Tayu had recieved secret orders from the Bakufu to come to Yedo in order to be made a *Kakuro*, and had got as far as Fushimi in obedience to the order.

<sup>(41)</sup>About this time Lord Satsuma made a present to the Imperial Court of 10,000 koku\* of rice; they were laden on some two hundred and thirty carts and dragged from Fushimi to the palace.

<sup>(45)</sup>The Daimios of Inshiu and Chikuzen left about the same time on a mission to Yedo, where all sorts of ideas were being agitated, not calculated to forward the Emperor's views. So these two Daimios were ordered to go and try to arrange matters, and in obedience to His Majesty they went.

The previous Envoys Sanjo and Anenokoji had arrived at Yedo, and notified the Imperial will to the Shogun on the 22nd January, 1863; to the 1863 effect that the Shogun, profoundly regretting the grief caused to the Imperial bosom ever since the ugly barbarians had come to the country, had reformed the Government in various ways, and had thus restored His Majesty's peace of mind. That the following spring the Bakufu<sup>o</sup> must go up to Kioto, and assuming the command and leadership of all the clans, wield in his hand the military prestige of the Empire, and accomplish the feat

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\* A koku is about 2½ piculs. [<sup>o</sup> Shogun]

of driving out the barbarians without loss of time.

As the Shogun and all his Ministers declared their readiness to obey the Imperial will, the two Envoys left Yedo, and returned to Kioto on the 10th February.

<sup>(46)</sup>At Kuantô still greater changes than had taken place before were inaugurated. Appointments and dismissals of officials were made in large numbers. Ten thousand koku out of Hikone's revenue of thirty-five thousand were confiscated, on account of Ii Kamon no Kami's father having, when he was intrusted with the guardianship of the young Shogun and the supreme direction of affairs, done all he could to annoy the Mikado and stir up discord among the people; he had distributed praise and blame, had made appointments and given dismissals in an arbitrary manner, had swallowed bribes in quantities, had constantly caused the goodness of His Majesty<sup>o</sup> to be misrepresented, and up to the day of his violent death had always deceived the Mikado.<sup>o</sup> Hikone was also ordered to put to death his retainer Nagano Shiuzen, who for years past had traitorously plotted to mislead the government and had caused great injury to the state. Naito Kii no Kami, on account of his malpractices while holding the appointment of Minister, was deprived of 10,000 koku which had been added to his revenues, and degraded in rank. Manabe Shimosa no Kami, formerly Minister, and Sakai Wakasa no Kami, formerly Resident at Kioto, having behaved during their respective periods of office with disrespect to exalted personages, treated important affairs as if they were of the slightest consequence,

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[<sup>o</sup>The Shogun]

created a breach between the Court and the Camp,\* and caused discord to arise among the people of the empire, were deprived of the additions they had received to their revenues and condemned to solitary confinement. The father of Hotta Konojo, Bitchiu no Kami, having during the tenure of his office of Minister lightly disregarded the wishes of the Mikado in respect to the treatment of the barbarians, was condemned to solitary confinement. Kuze Yamato no Kami who, on the occasion of the violent death of Ii Kamon no Kami during his period of office, had been guilty of dishonest practices, was deprived of 10,000 koku of lands and condemned to solitary confinement, and his son was appointed to take his place in the daimiate. Twenty thousand koku of Ando Tsushima no Kami's lands were confiscated for the same offence; he was condemned to solitary confinement, and to resign his daimiate to his son Rinnoske. Matsudaira Hoki no Kami was condemned to the second degree of confinement for his unrighteous proceedings in 1858. Matsudaira Idzumi no Kami, on account of his unrighteous proceedings in 1858, and for having deceived His Majesty<sup>o</sup> on the occasion of the violent death of Ii Kamon no Kami, was condemned to give back 10,000 koku of good lands, which he had received in exchange for bad land, and to resign his daimiate to his adopted son Mondo no Kami. The father of Wakizaka Awaji no Kami was condemned to solitary confinement, for his suspicious conduct on the occasion of the assassination of Ii Kamon no Kami, and for his

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\* Between the Mikado as the Sovereign and the Shogun as Generalissimo.  
[<sup>o</sup> The Shogun]

mis-government generally. The father of Midznou Dewa no Kami was condemned to confinement in the second degree, for having while in office as Minister truckled to Ii Kamon no Kami in a manner unworthy of his dignity and position. In addition numbers of the Shogun's lesser vassals were dismissed from office. Furthermore, the Shogun offered to descend one step in rank out of penitence for his shortcomings in administering the Government, but as His Majesty would not permit this, he continued gratefully to enjoy that rank; and as Ii Kamon no Kami had misbehaved with regard to the Imperial order sent to the old Prince of Mito in 1858, he promised henceforward to do better, and to obey faithfully His Majesty's will in all things.

(47) On the 10th February\* Aidzu Shosho Katamori entered Kioto with the appointment of military Governor of that city, and placed his troops in Black Valley on the East Hill. From this time until the spring of 1863 the daimios from the east and west of the country came up to Kioto to about the number of seventy; and besides them the number of vassals of the Shogun was also very considerable. As none of them had residences in the capital, they hired temples as temporary head-quarters, so that all the temples and monasteries within and without the city were occupied in this way. The clans, anxious not to be behindhand in appearing at Kioto, at last bought houses in the streets of the town, and built residences, and some of them built barracks at Yoshida, Shirakawa, Yamabata, Omuro, Saga, Matsu-

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\* The 23rd day of the 12th month is the 10th February 1863; the Japanese year began on the 18th February 1863.

nōo and Nishinōoka. The streets were crowded with Samurai on foot and on horseback; pleasure and sightseeing became the order of the day, and the capital flourished as it had never done in any former reign.

<sup>(48)</sup> Thus the year came to an end and the spring of 1863 followed. All the daimios present in Kioto went to court to offer their felicitations to the Mikado, in the order of their rank, clad in court dress, and among them were the Kuge in their court dress also. Their retinues were dressed in the *hoi*, the *suwo* and the *hakucho*, and truly it was a beautiful sight. Outside the nine gates were crowds of spear bearers, matchlockmen, led horses and baggage coolies awaiting the exit of their masters. When the evening came on hand-lanterns and lanterns on poles were lighted in such numbers that it seemed to be broad daylight in the palace. Such a splendid exhibition of the greatness of the Court had not been known since the earliest ages.

<sup>(49)</sup> On the 1st March the Shogun's guardian, Hitotsu-bashi Chiunagon, arrived at Kioto in pursuance of an order from the Court, accompanied by the *kakuro* Ogasawara Dzusho no Kami, the *Ometsuke* Okabe Suruga no Kami, and the *Onando* Sawa Kanshichiro. He took up his abode in the Eastern Honguanji temple, to remain in the capital. The low-class two-sworded men had for some time past been anxiously looking for the arrival of the Shogun's guardian, and had talked much amongst themselves about the nearness of the time when the barbarians were to be driven out. When they heard that the Shogun himself was to arrive at the capital shortly, and that the date would be at once fixed as soon

as he should come, the ronins felt disappointed in their hopes and began to get turbulent.

<sup>(50)</sup>On the 14th March the ronins murdered Kagawa Hajime, a retainer of Chigusa dono, and cutting off his head, put it on a charger (sambo); they placed with it a paper saying that the views of Hitotsubashi dono about the expulsion of the barbarians were of a temporizing nature, and in which they recounted the treasonable crimes of Kagawa since 1858, and they offered him as a present these first-fruits of blood, depositing the whole at the porch of his quarters. Then cutting off one of the arms, they sent it to Chigusa.

<sup>(51)</sup>On the 1st March, the head of Ikenouchi Daigaku had been cut off and stuck on the Naniwa Bridge at Osaka, as if in the pillory, with a placard which said: "This Daigaku since 1858 followed the "upright and "patriotic Samurai, and was of use to them in various "ways, but he has turned round and has given information to traitorous officials, on account of which faithful and loyal Samurai have lost their lives. Heaven "punishes him for his crimes." The two ears were cut off and thrown into the residences of Nakayama dono and Okimachi-Sanjo dono, who were apparently so frightened that they resigned the office of Giso.

<sup>(52)</sup>On the 8th March Todoroki Buhei, of the Higo clan, Kuzaka Genzui and Terajima Chiusaburo, went to the residence of the Kuambaku, and said that since the pure-hearted and patriotic daimios had gradually taken up their residence in Kyoto, and had exerted themselves diligently, they wished the Mikado would at once name a day for the expulsion of the barbarians.



(53) On the 11th March Konoye Sadaijin resigned the office of Kuambaku, and Takadzukasa Udaijin was appointed in his stead.

(54) In the same month Awata no Miya, who for years past had diligently given all the assistance he could in national affairs, was permitted by a special decree to return to the condition of a layman, and on his accepting, he received the title of Nakagawa no Miya, and took the Osatoden at the temple Ichijo-in in the street called Hirokoji for a temporary residence. Here he devoted his attention more and more to the affairs of the state, and his influence became enormous. He established a college in front of the Sun-gate of the Palace, assembled therein numbers of patriots, and told them that any one was at liberty to offer any plans he might have for the good of the state.

(55) About the same time the prince of Awa presented the Mikado with fourteen horses.

(56) On the 16th March, the English war vessels which were at Yedo sent in a despatch, demanding the apprehension and execution of Shimadzu Saburo and his set, for having murdered some of their officials at Namamugi in Musashi the previous year, or else the payment of an indemnity of five hundred thousand dollars in expiation of the crime by the Japanese Government. That afterwards they would go to Kagoshima, to demand satisfaction (lit. to reproach for the crime) and obtain thirty thousand dollars in gold. If these demands were refused, they would proceed to hostilities, and the high officials of the Bakufu might come on board as spectators. They would wait ten days from the date of the letter to receive

an answer; that if there were any delay, the war vessels would immediately proceed to Osaka, Nagasaki, Hakodate and other ports to seize the junks as they entered or left; and they would lay Yedo in ashes, because of this violation of the treaty.

The *Kakuro* and *Sansei* were mightily perplexed. At the moment they received such an ultimatum as this from the barbarians, their own countrymen, taking advantage of the state of things, were urging them to expel these very barbarians. "Here is another, and a worse national calamity," said the officials. "If we let the English squadron go to the Bay of Satsuma, something calamitous will be sure to ensue. The best thing we can do will be pacify the English barbarians." So they returned an answer to the English squadron, to the effect that if such applications were listened to by the Government, the country would be torn by internal dissensions, and the consequence would be a state of external and internal discord. Besides the letter contained things contrary to the laws of our country and therefore highly objectionable; wherefore it was desirable that they should put off the despatch of the war vessels to Satsuma. That the Government had the matter under consideration, and that they had better trust to them to settle it. The letter was signed by Matsudaira Buzen no Kami. The barbarians, seeing the alarm of the Bakufu officials, abounded in falsehood and swagger. So, as it seemed that the demands of the barbarians were not to be easily got rid of, and that at any moment they might move their war vessels against us and commence hostilities, the Shogunate made diligent preparations to defend

itself; and the defences of the home provinces being very slight. If Kamen no Kami was ordered to guard the bay of Osaka.

As Hitotsubashi dono, in his character of guardian of the Shogun, had already arrived at Kioto, and the Supreme Administrator of the Government, Echizen Shungaku, was daily expected, the patriots and the lower class of two sworded men demanded constantly from the Kuambaku that the date for the expulsion of the foreigners should be decreed resolutely at once, and they also pressed the same thing on the Giso and Tenso. So on the 8th April Sanjo Chiamagon Sanetomi, Ano Chiujo, Okimachi Shosho, Anenokoji Shosho, Hashimoto Shosho and one or two more, made their way to the lodgings of Hitotsubashi dono, and demanded an explanation from him. Mori, the prince of Choshuu, who was quartered in the Tenriuji at Saga, hastened that evening to the house of the Kuambaku, and urged him repeatedly to fix the date. The following day Yodo Lord Tosa, the Chiujo of Iushiu and five or six *Kizg* went to Hitotsubashi dono and told him the affair was becoming serious; thus exerting themselves to prevent any harm coming to the Shogunate. Hitotsubashi, Shungaku and the Sansei replied that for some time past Kuantu had been in a state of commotion about the Shimadzu affair at Namamugi in the previous year; that the barbarian matters down there were becoming serious, and that therefore the Shogun was obliged to delay his appearance at Kioto. That he would come up shortly, and then when the state of affairs at Kuantu was fully known, both sides could together and the date should certainly be fixed. That

until that could take place they must keep the patriots quiet. So they agreed to this and went home.

(58) When it was heard that the Shogun was shortly coming to Kioto, every body said what a wonderful event it was, for since the visits of Hidetada in 1624 and Iyemitsu in 1634 more than two centuries had elapsed without such a thing happening, and all expected that he would come with a brilliant retinue.

(59) However, on the morning of the 9th April the heads of the wooden images of the three Ashikaga Shogun, Takauji, Yoshinori and Yoshimitsu, usually enshrined in the temple of To-jiu-in on the west of the city, were found pilloried in the bed of the river south of the Sanjo bridge. The placard said: "The chief bandit Yoritomo commenced the disloyal conduct, which was carried to its highest pitch by the Hojo and Ashikaga; but the power of the Imperial Court was not sufficient to punish them for their crimes. Is not this highly to be deplored and lamented? If we had lived five hundred years ago, we would have wrung their heads off, but we can only punish the crimes of these scoundrels, who act disloyally in this age of a return to the ancient system and of reformation." Those who had received the favours of the Shogun were much hurt; and were enraged that such hateful acts should be committed just upon the eve of his journey to Kioto.

(60) Upon Aidzu Shosho giving orders to his own men to search secretly for the authors of this deed, certain low two-sworded men, named Miwata Tsunaichiro, Morö-oka Sessai, Miyawata Yutaro, Tatebe Kenichiro, Awo-

yagi Kennoske living at Idana and Nijo, were caught. Takamatsu Kinoske and Sengoku Sadao were killed on the spot, and of the rest Nagazawa Seihei, Oba Kiohei, Nagawo Ikusaburo and Yamada Tsunao were arrested at different places, and thrust into prison. There were other gangs, but they absconded and all traces of them were lost. In consequence of this affair Mori Nagato no Kami\* sent in a remonstrance to the Imperial Court, saying that he had heard of the arrest and imprisonment of the *ronins* who had pilloried the heads of the wooden images of the Ashikaga family kept in Tojiu-in. Although it could not be denied that they had committed a riotous act, they had only been animated by hatred of the treason of the Ashikaga family, and by a desire to show clearly how men's acts and professions should coincide; as they had therefore not been actuated by private feelings of resentment, he begged they might be treated leniently and pardoned. When the Tenso communicated this memorial to the Supreme administrator of the Government, the latter found it necessary to take the opinion of Aidzu Shosho. The reply he gave was that the ronins just apprehended had, in defiance of the Court, agitated the popular mind; and that being a set of evil fellows, they certainly should not be released from prison. Henceforward the ronins became more and more devoted to the Prince of Choshu, and venerated him as if he had been their lord and leader, so that the influence of that Prince was unsurpassed within the Empire.

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<sup>(61)</sup>Now the Shogun having come to Kioto and the

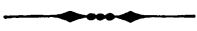
\* The young prince of Choshu.

expulsion of the barbarians having been determined upon, it seemed that the ronins might be of great service to him, and that it would be advisable to take them into his service. So, by the order of Aidzu Shosho, they received pecuniary assistance, and Udonu Kiuo was appointed to keep them in order. Henceforward the ronins were separated into two parties, those attached to the Bakufu being styled the Shin-cho-gumi (or newly chosen Band), and because they dwelt at Mibu they were also called the Mibu Band. The ronins who followed the Prince of Choshiu were styled the Seigishi (or the Perfectly Righteous Samurai). But the Shin-cho-gumi, unable to become the rivals of the Seigishi, in their secret hearts disliked <sup>o</sup>their master, though from first to last they seemed to belong to <sup>o</sup>him.

(62) *Note.*—The punishment of the ronins imprisoned in connection with the affair of the wooden heads of the Ashikaga generals was commuted, and in the month of July, by a special act of His Majesty's clemency, they were placed in the custody of certain lords. One only, Nagao Ikusaburo, was left in prison and was killed in the fray of the 21st August, 1864.

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[<sup>o</sup>them (Seigishi)]



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<sup>(1)</sup>On the 8th April all the daimios then resident at Kioto were called to the Imperial Court. Amongst them were the Shogun's Guardian Hitotsubashi Chiunagon, Echizen Shosho the Supreme Administrator of Affairs, Aidzu Chiujo the Military Governor of Kioto and the Minister Ogasawara Iki no Kami, Owari the ex-Dainagon, Matsudaira Mikawa no Kami, Matsudaira Sagami no Kami, Matsudaira Mino no Kami, Hizen Shosho (Kanso), Matsudaira Dewa no Kami, Uyesugi Danjo no Daihitsu, Hosokawa Etchuu no Kami, Matsudaira Nagato no Kami, Matsudaira Awaji no Kami, Satake Ukio Daibu, Matsudaira Kii no Kami, Tosa Jijiu (Yodo), Uwajima Jijiu (Date), Matsudaira Tonomo no Kami, Kamei Oki no Kami, Shimadzu Awaji no Kami, and Mori Sakio no Ske, who all presented themselves at Court in obedience to the mandate. There were present also His Highness the Kuambaku, the Giso Hirohata Dainagon, Asukai Chiu-nagon, Sanjo Chiunagon,\* Ano Saisho, and Hase Sammi, the Tenso Bojo Dainagon and Nonomiya Saisho, the Chief Secretaries Hamuro and Shokanji. Made-no-Koji Uchi ujo, Kanroji Sashoben, Bojo Ushoben; and three Princes of the Blood, Arisugawa Nakadzukasakyo no Miya, Arisugawa Sotsu no Miya and Nakagawa no Miya. When they were all seated in the order of their respective ranks, the Tenso read out the Mikado's decree. It was as follows:—"At the present moment the ugly barbarians are

"watching the empire with greedy eye, and the state of  
"affairs is highly critical. Should the national honour  
"receive a stain or the sacred treasures be damaged, His  
"Majesty would consider himself wanting in the perform-  
"ance of the obligations which he owes to his divine  
"ancestors, and attribute everything to his own want of  
"virtue. His Majesty therefore considers that you ought  
"in obedience to his wish of repelling the barbarians, and  
"in a spirit of resolute loyalty and courage, to perform  
"the exploit of sweeping them away and thus preserve  
"the national polity intact. His Majesty believes that  
"if the date for the repulsion of the barbarians is fixed,  
"the inhabitants of the whole country will exhaust their  
"efforts and vie with each other in loyalty and fidelity,  
"and he is gratified to think that those who have felt  
"like patriots for the last few years will do all they can  
"to requite the benefits they have received from their  
"native land. As he intends to lend his wise ear to the  
"words of even low-class two sworded men and people  
"of the baser class, he desires me to tell you, that you  
"may give your opinions to those charged with the  
"superintendence of the Gakushiu-in without the slight-  
"est hesitation." All of them received this expression  
of His Majesty's will with respect and withdrew. Shortly  
after, they all received permission to leave Kioto, and  
gradually departed for their countries.

(2) Now the Shogun had left Yedo on the 3rd April,  
and entering the capital on the 21st of the month, had taken  
up his abode at the castle of Nijo. He was preceded by  
Sakakibara Shikibu no Tayu, the *kakuro* Itakura Suwo  
no Kami, and Midzuno Idzumi no Kami, the *sansai* Inaba



Nagato no Kami, Tanuma Gemba no Kami, the gentlemen in waiting Tsubouchi Idzu no Kami, Muroga Mimasaka no Kami, Muramatsu Dewa no Kami, Sano Iyo no Kami, the military Secretary (Rikugunbugio) Ozeki Higo no Kami, the Superintendents of the military school Ishiki Jinzayemon and Tsukahara Jizayemon, the musketeers Tatsuki Shirobei, and Inouye Sadaiyu, the chief of the guards of the Presence Chamber Akamatsu Sayemon no Jo, the Pages Arima Idzumi no Kami and Matsura Bizen no Kami, the Privy Purse bearers Asakura Harima no Kami and Tsuda Awaji no Kami, and the Ometsuke Izawa Mimasaka no Kami. He was followed by Ogasawara Daizen no Daibu, the chief of his escort Matsudaira Oki no Kami, by his Aide-de-camps, Secretaries, Doctors and valets to the number of more than three thousand men in all. Of these a hundred were cavalry and there were seven or eight hundred musketeers in regiments and companies besides. The Shogun entered Kyoto early on the morning of the departure of Yanagiwara Chiunagon and Fujinami Ise Gon no Kami as special envoys to the two shrines of Ise.

<sup>(3)</sup>On the 24th April he paid his first visit to the Palace to inquire after His Majesty's health. He was accompanied by Hitotsubashi-dono, by the *kakuro* Ogasawara Dzusho no Kami, Itakura Suwo no Kami and Matsudaira Buzen no Kami, by Mito Chiunagon, the Chiujo of Sendai, Satake Jijiu and Yonezawa Shosho, all in Court costume and on horseback, with the warriors in waiting (*tsukebuke*) Oguri Shimosa no Kami, and Matsudaira Wakasa no Kami to lead the way, and was escorted by the chiefs of the wardrobe in *noshime*

and hempen *kamishimo*.\* The *yoriki* and *doshin* (a kind of police) guarded the streets in hempen *kamishimo*.

(4) The Shogun offered to the Mikado a sword of finest temper, a horse, a hundred pieces of gold, a thousand pieces of silver, a picture, a pair of standard screens, an incense burner of blue earthenware, paper and a writing box, a writing table, a pair of folding screens, fifty pieces of blue silk, and a thousand pieces of brocade. To the Princes of the Blood he presented a sabre of finest temper, the price of a horse, five hundred pieces of silver†, twenty pieces of gold, a set of book shelves, a flower vase, fifty rolls of Yamato brocade, and five hundred bundles of cotton; to the *Jungo*‡ five hundred pieces of silver, thirty rolls of crape, twenty pieces of gold fifty rolls of flowered silk, a small screen, a set of incense things and a handwarmer; to the Princess Toshi three hundred pieces of silver, twenty rolls of fine satin, ten pieces of gold, thirty rolls of flowered silk, a writing desk, a clove furnace, and fifty pounds weight of scarlet thread. Kazu Miya and Tensho-in|| also sent presents to the Princes of the Blood, to the *jungo* and to the Princess Toshi. Besides this, presents of silver were made to the Emperor's servants and to his nurse. So the Shogun worshipped the dragon-countenance and after receiving a cup from the hands of His Majesty retired

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\* The *kamishimo* is a dress comprised of wide trousers and a garment which resembles a pair of butterfly's wings more than anything else.

† A piece of silver is worth about a boon and a half; the piece of gold here meant is the *oban*, worth £18, odd.

‡ The morganatic wife of the Emperor. He may have twelve, but the number has seldom been filled up in modern times.

|| The widow of the Shogun Iyesada, elder sister of the Prince of Sūsama

about six in the evening. On this occasion, following the precedent created by Iyemitsu when he went up to the capital, he distributed gold to the townspeople, to the amount of 5,000 strings of silver; and the whole populace, moistened in the bath of his mercy and goodness, were greatly pleased and gratified.

<sup>(5)</sup>*Note.*—This sum of money amounted to 63,000 and odd ounces of gold. The men receiving pay in the service of nobles of the Court and territorial Princes resident in Kioto were excepted from participating in it, and the share of each household was about an ounce and a quarter of gold.

<sup>(6)</sup>As the Shogun had now achieved his auspicious visit to the capital, and as His Majesty had long before formed the resolution of leading the army in person to sweep out the barbarians, he started on the 28th of May,<sup>o</sup> escorted by the Shogun, to visit the Shrines at Upper and Lower Kamo, as a preliminary. He was accompanied by the Kuambaku Nijo Udaijin, by Konoye Dainagon, Tokudaiji Chiunagon, Asukai Chiunagon, Hashimoto Saisho and his son the younger Saisho, Shimidzudani Shonagon, by the Chiujo Kushige, Aburakoji, Higashizono and Shigenoi, by the Shosho Anenokoji, Okimachi, Yotsutsuji and Higashikuze\*, the Jijiu Nakayama and Shijo, by Nakamikado Sachiuben, Shokuanji Uchiuben, Bojo Uchiuben, and other officials, besides the diviners, the musicians and the servants of the Household. He was guarded in front and rear by the Shogun Tokugawa Naidaijin as chief, by Mito Chiunagon, Hitotsubashi Chiunagon, the *kakuro* Midzuno Idzumi no Kami and Itakura Suwo no Kami, the *Sansei* Tanuma Gemba no

\* Formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs and afterward Governor of Yezo.

† <sup>o</sup> An error for the 28th of April, or the 11th day of the 3rd month.]

Kami and Inaba, Hiobushoyu, the *Koke*\* Yokose Yama-shiro no Kami, Chiujo Jjiu, Kiogoku Tango no Kami and Arima Hiobutayu, the civil Governor of Kioto Takigawa Harima no Kami, the Warrior in waiting Matsudaira Wakasa no Kami, and the following Daimios; Yonezawa Shosho, Sendai Chiujo, Awa Chiujo, Higo Shosho, Bizen Jjiu, Tsushima Jjiu, Satake Jjiu, Uwajima Jjiu, and Kamei Oki no Kami, all dressed in the costume and wearing the caps appropriate to their respective ranks, riding on gaily caparisoned horses and mingling with the nobles of the Court. They surrounded the Phoenix Car on all sides, a brilliant suite, and most astounding. Several hundred matchlockmen preceded and brought up the rear of the procession, and all along the road retainers dressed in hempen *kamishimo* guarded the passage with the greatest vigilance. The splendour of His Majesty's retinue and of the nobles who accompanied him, was highly calculated to cause a deep feeling of gratitude at the thought of the glorious position of Japan. The people in the neighbouring villages and adjacent provinces, hearing of it, came flocking in to adore the Imperial progress; old and young of both sexes and of all conditions collected in the shingly bed of the river Kamo, and prostrating themselves in the road worshipped with gratitude and tears of joy, and clapping their hands gazed reverently on the procession.

(7) On the 29th May Shimadzu Saburo arrived again at Kioto and sent in a memorial to His Majesty, saying that he had come thither in consequence of the confidential

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\* Officials of the Shogun's Court, whose duty it was formerly to entertain the Mikado's Envoys to [Edo or] Nikko. They were of very good family, but poor.

orders he had received from his Majesty ; that attentive consideration of the state of things around the throne having convinced him that peril threatened the Empire from one moment to another, he had laid his opinion before the high officials of both Court and Camp. His advice had been disregarded, to his great grief and regret. For useless persons to remain at Kioto, would be injurious to the interests of both the Mikado and Shogun. That if slanders and false accusations were spread about, his opinion was that the end would be a civil disturbance before the very eyes of His Majesty. That as soon as His Majesty decided the question of the expulsion of the barbarians, he should at once return to his country, in order to take efficient measures for its defence, since, being surrounded on three sides by the sea, it was particularly exposed to the incursions of the ugly barbarians. On the 3rd June therefore he returned to his country.

<sup>(4)</sup>With the understanding that the demands made by the barbarians would shortly cause His Majesty to issue a notification declaring the date for their expulsion fixed, the maritime daimios were permitted to leave; they all departed therefore from Kioto one by one and returned to their countries.

<sup>(5)</sup>Upon the pretext that the Shogun was very anxious about the barbarian question, the Bakufu officials made constant application to His Majesty requesting urgently that leave might be granted to him to return to Kuanto, but His Majesty replied that if the Shogun were to reside in his capital, the distance which separates east and west, would prevent the Sovereign and his vassal *from understanding* each other ; that he should remain

for a while by the throne and reside in Kioto to direct the movements of the daimios, until such time as the expulsion of the barbarians should be resolved upon.

<sup>(10)</sup>About this period Echizen Shungaku, the Supreme Administrator, requested permission to resign his Office, but the Mikado refused to grant it; so on the 6th June he started from Kioto, with what motives is uncertain, and went down to his country. Orders were therefore sent to him there to remain in strict confinement on account of his misbehaviour in thus insulting the Mikado.

<sup>(11)</sup>About this time Nakayama Jijiu seeing that the Bakufu still tried to deceive the Imperial Court, and to treat it in an insolent manner, became profoundly excited, and resigning his rank and functions, absconded from Kioto with the object of stirring up other patriots and of carrying out the designs so long cherished by him. He made use of various hiding places, and styled himself Mori Shiusai.

<sup>(12)</sup>On the 5th June the Shogun had an audience of the Mikado. Hitotsubashi dono, Itakura Suwo no Kami, and Ogasawara Dzusho no Kami accompanied him, and there were present also the chief nobles of the Court, the *dai-nagon* and *chiu-nagon*, the *Tenso*, and *Giso*. When the date for the expulsion of the barbarians had been fixed in conference, all retired. A Notification was issued to the Daimios that His Majesty had fixed on the 25th June<sup>o</sup> for the expulsion of the barbarians. A decree was also issued ordering each Daimio to furnish a number of Imperial troops in proportion to the assessment of his fief, and each Daimio sent a force to be at the service of the Imperial Court.

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[<sup>o</sup> The 10th day of the 5th month.]

<sup>(13)</sup>On the 8th June at 5 o'clock in the evening, the Shogun suddenly asked an audience of the Mikado, and went to the palace accompanied by the same persons as on the previous occasion. He urgently requested permission to leave, as affairs at Kuantō were approaching a very critical state; and as it could not be helped, a notification was issued, saying that the Mikado having given his permission, the Shogun would leave for his capital on the 10th. However, this permission was subsequently withdrawn. Kuantō affairs were entrusted to Mito Dainagon, with full powers, and the Shogun was ordered to remain awhile at Kioto. Mito Dōno set off for Yedo at once, with Ogasawara Dzushō no Kami under his orders, and had a conference with the barbarians at Yokohama.

<sup>(14)</sup>Now the date for the expulsion of the barbarians having been fixed, the daimios were ordered to put the approaches to the capital in a state of defence; and on the 28th of May,\* His Majesty paid a visit to the Hachiman Shrine at Otokoyama. His retinue was composed in the same way as on the occasion of his visit to the upper and lower Shrines at Kamo, of nobles of the Court and members of the military class. On the present occasion the Mikado was to present to the Shogun in the presence of the God a sword of justice for the expulsion of the barbarians, but the latter suddenly fell sick and declined the honour of forming part of His Majesty's suite, thus neglecting his duty of escorting the Emperor.

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\* The 28th May is probably an error, as the author a few paragraphs before makes the Mikado to have been at Kamo on that date. The original has been followed, in the absence of other authorities by which to correct it.

[The 28th May, or the 11th day of the 4th month, is correct; *vide* the editor's note, p. 84.]

The procession was headed by a chief retainer of Sendai, Katakura Kojiuro, in the *hoi* and on horseback, the Warrior in Waiting Oguri Nagato no Kami, the civil governor Takigawa Harima no Kami, the prince of Aki, Asano Kii no Kami, the Jijiu of Bizen and Tsushima, by Nagato Shosho, Yonezawa Shosho, Hitotsubashi Dainagon, and by Bojo Ben, Funabashi Shonagon, Hamuro Ben Saisho, Hashimoto Saisho, Minamoto Chiunagon, Reizei Chiunagon, Asukai Chiunagon, Hirohata Dainagon, Oimikado Dainagon, Ichijo Sadaijin, Kawabata Shosho, Sanjonishi Shosho, Tokudaiji Udaisho, Higashisono Jijiu, Okimachi Shosho, Konoye Sadaisho, Kushige Chiujo and Shigenoi Chiujo, nobles of the Court. In the centre came the Phoenix Car, carried by more than a hundred bearers. Umetani Chiujo, Matsuki Chiujo, Anenokoji Shosho, Higashikuze Shosho, Rokujo Saisho, Nakamikado the chief Ben, Shijo Jijiu, Nishikikoji Uma no Kami, and the Kuambaku Takatsukasa dono came next. The military class who followed were Matsudaira Sanuki no Kami, Mito Yoshiromaro (14th son of the Prince of Mito); and the rear guard was brought up by several hundred Aidzu troops, besides the Satsuma, Choshu, Bizen, and Tosa troops who guarded His Majesty in front and rear. All along the road there were posted guards of daimios troops, as on the occasion of His Majesty's visit to Kamo.

<sup>(15)</sup> As the Shogun was unable on account of his sickness to receive the sword of justice which was to be presented to him in the presence of the god, Hitotsubashi dono went in the train as his representative, to receive the sword for him, by special order of His Majesty; but he also suddenly fell sick, and going down from the



Shrine, only accompanied His Majesty on his return. In consequence of this the honest patriots were greatly incensed, and declared that the Bakufu officials did not sincerely intend to drive out the barbarians; that all of them, including Hitotsubashi, were deceiving the Imperial Court, and that the villany they thus displayed, and in constantly urging the Shogun to return to Yedo, was beyond the power of words to stigmatise. And they clamoured loudly that since this was so, the Mikado himself should proceed to conquer the barbarians in person, without waiting for the Bakufu.

<sup>(16)</sup>On account of the misconduct of the Shogun and his guardian on the occasion of this Imperial progress, the Ministers of the Court and the officers charged by the Mikado with the conduct of public affairs advised His Majesty that Owari Dainagon should be appointed assistant of the the Shogunate, Hizen Shosho supreme administrator of civil and military affairs, and Sakai Uta no Kami be appointed Acting chief of the Council (*Tairo-kaku*.)

<sup>(17)</sup>On the 7th June the Shogun started from Kioto, and after visiting the Shrine of Hachiman at Iwashimidzu, went down to Osaka and abode at the Castle. On the 9th he went on board a boat at the Naniwa bridge and embarked at the mouth of the river on board man of war, in which he visited Nishinomiya, Hiogo and the whole of the Bay of Osaka.

<sup>(18)</sup>On the same day the Imperial Envoy, Anenokoji Shosho went down to Osaka, and took up his abode at Tsumuragodo under the protection of the clans of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Kishu. On the following

day he entered the castle and saw the Shogun. On the 11th he made an inspection of the sea-shore near Tempozan, and returned the same day to Kioto. On the 14th the Shogun started for Kishiu, returning to Osaka on the 15th; and on the 26th June he returned to Kioto.

<sup>(19)</sup>The date for the expulsion of the barbarians having been fixed, Mito dono had already gone down to Kuantō to commence negotiations for the closing of the ports of Kanagawa and Nagasaki; and he was now followed by Hitotsubashi dono. On the 25th June the *kakuro* Ogasawara Dzusho no Kami, after consulting with his colleagues at Yedo, Matsudaira Buzen no Kami, Inouye Kawachi no Kami of Hamamatsu and Makino Bizen no Kami of Nagaoka, went to Yokohama and delivered a letter to the various barbarian nationalities, informing them that the national feeling was opposed to foreign intercourse, and that the Court had given an order to send foreigners away and shut up the ports; that he was entrusted with full powers to negotiate; and was ready to discuss all points with them.

The English and the rest manifested great indignation, and getting ready a number of cannon, declared they could not comprehend the inhuman conduct of people who could thus overlook the affair of Namamugi; that they would demand justice from Japan, would do violence in the towns of Yedo and Yokohama, and destroy the inhabitants' dwellings with fire.

As they appeared to be on the point of commencing hostilities, Asano Iga no Kami the Governor of Uraga, the Foreign Commissioners Inouye Shinano no Kami, Matsudaira Idzu no Kami, Sakai Hida no Kami, Midzu-

no Chikugo no Kami, Matsudaira Sahioye no Kami and the rest were greatly alarmed. They said to Ogasawara: "Whatever the Court may fancy, it knows nothing about foreign affairs, and therefore simply orders us to expel the foreigners, but if hostilities once break out it will not be easy to make matters quiet again." And they urged him to use influence with the Court and appease the foreigners, so that the matter might end amicably. So they paid an indemnity and asked for peace, not caring in the least whether the national dignity was maintained.

Ogasawara was thus forced by circumstances to agree at last with the officials. Mito dono and he therefore reported to Kioto that the Namamugi question was a different matter; it was not right to mix up the two questions; that an indemnity of three hundred thousand *ryo* had therefore been paid; but that the negotiations for breaking off the intercourse would proceed with.

On this two chief retainers of the house of Mito, Oba Yayemon and Takeda Iga went to the *kakuro* and insisted on arguing the question with him, but the mischief was already done, and there was no help for it; so they gnashed their teeth with indignation.

<sup>(20)</sup>Hitotsubashi dono reported to Kioto that, bearing the Sage Order to expel the barbarians, he had gone down to the East, to find no two of the *kakuro* and the greater and lesser officials agreeing. That the Imperial mandate could certainly not be carried out; that he was alarmed at the guilt he had incurred by undertaking to carry out the important duty of expelling the barbarians,

being as he said, ignorant of the affairs of Kuantō and of the politics of the day, and moreover stupid and devoid of talent by nature. That he humbly awaited his punishment and begged to be allowed to resign his present office.

The Imperial Court had been waiting in anxious expectation to see how the Kuantō people would conduct the negotiations for the closing of the ports, and when this news came there was great fermentation in its councils. The courtiers were indignant at the cowardly and temporising action of the Bakufu officials; they now lamented and now bewailed themselves, and stigmatised the others as effete and dishonourable *Samurai*. From this time the whole country was profoundly agitated, and the influence of the Bakufu declined enormously.

<sup>(21)</sup> On the 5th of July Aidzu Chiujo, Midzuno Idzumi no Kami and Itakura Suwo no Kami had an audience of the Mikado. They declared that they apologised for the improper conduct of Ogasawara Dzusho no Kami in Kuantō, and that they had no excuses to offer to the Imperial Court for what had taken place. That even if the Ministers were to go back to Yedo to conduct the negotiations, they would be able to effect nothing. The Shogun must go down to Kuantō in person, to punish the traitorous officials; call Hitotsubashi to his side, and inquire into the exact state of affairs; that he would then show evidence of having performed the exploit of driving out the barbarians, and rest are tranquillity to His Majesty's mind. However, it was the Emperor's will that, in the present disturbed state of affairs, he should devote himself to quieting the excitement of the clans, and give

them the necessary orders, and so the Shogun had to stay yet awhile at the capital.

(22) At this moment the chiefs of the Shinsengumi, Udono Kiuo, Takahashi Ise, and Chiujo Kinnosuke, with forty or fifty ronins were quartered in the °Horsedealer Street in Yedo, and were intending, in consequence of the opposition offered by the Bakufu officials to the Imperial orders and their temporizing in the matter of the expulsion of the barbarians, to levy holy war and within a few days to complete the good work. They were, however, badly off for war material. As soon as they entered into a bond of agreement to make good this deficiency, their fellows began to collect gradually, and at last there were bodies of one and two thousand men, assembled here and there. These men under the name of collecting money for the expenses of expelling the barbarians, entered, by force, the rich houses in the town, and by means of intimidation, obtained large sums of money. Those who refused to give anything were treated with ferocious violence, and there was a great commotion at Yedo in consequence.

Considering the absence of the Shogun, therefore, and the disturbed state of affairs, Abe Ise no Kami, Sakai Hannojo\*, Okubo Kaga no Kami†, Soma Daizen no S'ke and Matsudaira Ukio no S'ke were ordered to patrol the town and to repress the violence of the ronins. Before many days could elapse, a considerable number of them were arrested here and there, and punished in proportion to their respective guilt; thus tranquillity was restored.

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\* Shonai.

[° Bakurochō]

† Odawara.

(23) On the night of the 4th July, as Anenokoji Shosho was returning from the palace, accompanied by his retainers Yoshimura Ukio and Kanawa Isami, he came across three scoundrels just as he was passing in front of the Sakuhei gate\*, who made at him with their swords drawn. The Shosho received a severe wound on the shoulder, and his retainer Kanawa Isami, losing his head, ran away with the Shosho's sword which he was carrying. Yoshimura Ukio, without a moment's hesitation, engaged a couple of the scoundrels, one of whom he disarmed and wounded; the scoundrels then fled and made good their escape. The Shosho departed his life the same night, at the age of twenty-five.

(24) As soon as the Emperor heard of this affair, in gracious recognition of his surpassing loyalty and devotion to the country's weal, and of the trouble he had taken and the energy he had displayed in her cause, he granted him the posthumous titles of Saisho and Chiujo† by an Imperial decree; and the fidelity of Yoshimura Ukio was rewarded by a gift from the Imperial Court of three pieces of gold.

(25) *Note.*—The above named Ukio was originally a samurai who had decamped from the clan of Idzushi in Tajima. He subsequently was attached to Sawa‡ Mondo no Kami, accompanied him to Tajima, where he was hit by a cannon shot and killed in the defeat at Ginzan on the 24th of November, at the age of twenty one.

(26) Kanawa Isami, having fled at the very moment when his master was in danger, was imprisoned for his

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\* The Gate at the back of the Palace.

† Saisho means Minister of State; Chiujo, General of the Second Class: titles often borne together.

‡ Afterward Minister for Foreign Affairs.

faithlessness. The sword belonging to one of the scoundrels who assassinated the Shosho, which remained in the hands of Yoshimura, served as the instrument of a vigilant search. It was discovered to be the property of a certain Tanaga,<sup>o</sup> a samurai from the western provinces, and that individual was summoned to the official residence of the civil Governor, Nagai Mondo no Kami; but for some reason unknown he committed suicide before his trial could come on. His fellow clansman Maré<sup>8</sup> Genjojo and his servant Fuchida Taichi having been arrested on suspicion, the former was entrusted to the custody of the prince of Geishiu, and the latter to that of the prince of Yonezawa. The suspicion attaching to Maré afterwards cleared up, and Fuchida absconded from Yonezawa.

(<sup>27</sup>)Up to the present time the guard of the Inui gate had been furnished by the Shimadzu family, but the post was now taken from them. Henceforward they furnished body guards to the *Daijin*, the Giso, the Tenso and to the other *Kugé* employed in national affairs and matters of state.

(<sup>28</sup>)Now the date for the expulsion of the barbarians having been fixed, the Choshu clan surpassed all others in intrepidity and zeal. Nakayama Tadamitsu\* and the runaway *Samurai* of the different provinces were full of enthusiasm, and waited anxiously for the moment to arrive when they might drive away the barbarian ships and make the military glory of the Empire shine beyond the seas.

On the 25th of June, observing an American steamer

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\* A Kugé.

[<sup>o</sup> Tanaka Shimbei of Satsuma] [8 Nire Kagenori]

[<sup>8</sup> body guards were furnished to]

pass through the strait in front of Tanōura in Buzen, the Choshii forces opened fire on it from their great guns; the American vessel fired four or five shots also, and then fled defeated. This was the first deed of arms in Japan.

<sup>(29)</sup>On the 8th of July, a foreign man-of-war was fired on as she was passing near the town of Chofu, and as she responded with several shots, a regular battle ensued. On the 11th July a Dutch vessel\* was fired on as she was passing through the straits, and driven off.

<sup>(30)</sup>From this day forth fights with foreign vessels were of daily occurrence in Choshii. On the 16th of July a barbarian vessel § came to make an attack and sank the Prince of Choshii's own steamer the *Koshin Maru*. ¶ Both sides discharged great guns and small arms at each other, and a general engagement took place. On the 20th a barbarian\*\* vessel bombarded and destroyed the forts of Dannōura and Sugiya at Shimonoseki, and the enemy's landing fought fiercely at Maedamura, setting fire to the dwellings of the people, and committing other acts of violence. The Choshii troops had a very hard fight of it, but their brave soldiers, full of intrepid zeal, knocked over a considerable number of the foreigners and swept back those who had landed. So the barbarian vessels all retreated. They had fought fiercely from the 16th to 20th

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\* The Medusa.

§ The Wyoming.

¶ The *Lancefield*, sold to the Prince of Choshii by Jardine, Matheson & Co. innocently enough.

\*\* The *Semiramis* and *Tancrede*.



<sup>(31)</sup>The Kokura clan on the opposite shore sent no troops to the assistance of the Choshu forces in their hard fight with the barbarians, but stood looking on quietly, at which the patriots were indignant. The Emperor in consequence issued a notification declaring that a report had been made to him of the attack made by barbarian ships at Akamagaseki,\* of their landing there and the fight which ensued; that the neighbouring clans ought to send assistance; the peril of Choshu was the peril of the Empire. Without caring about whether it was their own territory or that of another which was attacked, succour ought to be sent and the greatest efforts made in order to cause the military glory of the Sacred Provinces to shine brightly. If any individual looked on with indifference in future, he would be deprived of his rank and honours.

<sup>(32)</sup>On the 18th July at midnight a fire broke out in the 5th ward of Iigura at Yedo and gradually spread to neighbouring localities; the whole of the Nishinokubo street was consumed. About ten o'clock in the morning another fire broke out inside the main entrance of the Western Castle, destroying all the palace buildings. The Clock Hall in the Chief Castle was also destroyed.

<sup>(33)</sup>Now though the date for the expulsion of the barbarians had been fixed, the Bakufu officials had egregiously failed in the conduct of the negotiations at Kuantō for the cessation of intercourse. The Shogun was therefore ordered by an Imperial decree to return to Yedo, and speedily report a successful result.

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\* Akamagaseki, or more elegantly, *Bakuan*, is the name of that part of the strait where the batteries were formerly situated.

On the 18th of July he had an audience of the Mikado in order to take leave. All the daimios resident in Kioto went to the palace; amongst them were the ex-Dainagon of Owari, the Protector of the Mikado's person Aidzu Shosho, the Kakuro Midzuno Idzumi no Kami and Itakura Suwo no Kami, the Shogun's Resident Inaba Nagato no Kami, the *sansei* Tanuma Gemba no Kami and Inaba Hiobushoyu, the Gentlemen-in-waiting Tsubouchi Idzu no Kami, Muramatsu Dewa no Kami, Sano Iyo no Kami and Ogasawara Kaga no Kami, the *koke* Hirose Yamashiro no Kami, Chiujo Nakadzukasa no Taiyu, Arima Hiobutayu, Kiogoku Tango no Kami and Osawa Ukiodaibu, the Governor of Fushimi Hayashi Higo no Kami, and the following daimios—Uyesugi Danjo no Daihitsu, Asano Kii no Kami, So Tsushima no Kami, Matsudaira Etchui no Kami, Sakakibara Shikibu Tayu, Matsura Hizen no Kami, Awoyama Inaba no Kami, Nagai Hida no Kami, Hitotsuyanagi Hiobu Shoyu, Matsudaira Bungo no Kami and Kiogoku Sado no Kami, in Court uniform and mounted on horseback.

<sup>(34)</sup>The Kakuro and the officials at Kuantō lamented the delay in the return of the Shogun to his capital, and said amongst themselves that he had gone to Kioto on the understanding that he should only remain there ten days, and now as he had not returned, there was every appearance of his being kept there as a hostage until the expulsion of the barbarians should be definitely carried out. They were much grieved to think this was the case, and it was decided that Ogasawara Dzusho no Kami should take the command of several hundred troops, and proceed to Osaka by steamer, whence he would go up to

Kioto, and seizing the Shogun by force bring him back to Yedo.

When this became known at Kioto the patriots were highly indignant, and declared with much excitement and uproar, that if the *Kakuro* came to Kioto they would make him prisoner. Dzusho no Kami got to Fushimi on the 22nd, but when he heard this, he was terribly frightened, and ran away back to Osaka, where he concealed himself under the protection of Matsudaira Idzu no Kami, Governor of the castle. He was in consequence deprived of his title and honours by the Shogun, and handed over to the custody of Idzu no Kami.

<sup>(35)</sup>On the 24th of the same month the Shogun left Kioto to return to Yedo, taking Osaka on his way, where he remained some days. He had informed the Mikado that it was his intention to travel by the Tokaido, but for some reason only known to himself, he embarked on the sea in a steamer, and sailing out of the port of Osaka returned thus to Kuantō, where he arrived on the 31st July.

<sup>(36)</sup>After this the patriots of the whole country hastened to assemble at Kioto, and became more and more zealous. The Imperial Court proclaimed that as it had already notified the date fixed for the expulsion of the barbarians, and that as Choshū, respectfully obeying the Wise Will, had resolutely proceeded to sweeping and driving them away, any barbarians who might henceforward visit the country must be expelled without more ado; and that all the clans, helping their neighbours, must exert their strength to the utmost.

(37) On the 31st July Okimachi Shosho started for Choshu as visitor on the part of His Majesty, escorted by a bodyguard of the soldiers of Higo, Choshu, Aidzu, Tosa, and Kurumé.

(38) The Shogun having informed the Mikado that he was ready to carry out His Majesty's desire of expelling the barbarians, had received permission to leave, and had left for the East; but up to the present moment nothing more had been heard from him. The guardian of the Mikado's Person, Aidzu Shosho, was therefore summoned to the palace and informed that His Majesty was very anxious to know what was the state of affairs in Kanto since the return thither of Shogun, and that the Warrior in Waiting (tsukebuke) Oguri Nagato no Kami should be sent down to tell the Shogun that His Majesty was highly satisfied at the rehabilitation of the rule which had been in disuse for two hundred years by his coming up to Kioto; and that the relations of Prince and Vassal had thus been set on a satisfactory footing again. However, the declarations made by him on the 24th July to his Majesty when leave was given to him just before his departure for Osaka, were extremely vague; and his sudden return to Yedo in a steamer was especially suspicious. That with respect to the expulsion of the barbarians his proceedings had been most improper, and deserved a strict investigation at the hands of His Majesty, but out of consideration for him, the Emperor would not condemn him at present.

Oguri Nagato no Kami was deeply impressed, and started for Yedo on the 14th of August.

(39) On the 10th August Arima Totomi no Kami of

Maruoka in Echizen was appointed a *kakuro*.

<sup>(40)</sup>On the 30th of August Higashi-zono Chiujo and Shijo Jijiu left Kioto for Osaka as visitors on the part of the Mikado, and took up their quarters in the Tsumura Godo. On the 15th September Higashizono set off to Kishiu to inspect the coast at Kadanoura, and Shijo to Himeji in Harima; both were accompanied by bodyguards furnished from the clans. On the 4th, both of the Imperial Messengers returned to Kioto.

<sup>(41)</sup>Thus the glorious proposition of expelling the barbarians was resolved upon, and though the Shogun had returned to Yedo, the prestige of the Bakufu was greatly diminished. The Kwantō officials profoundly regretted that the Court had so much authority while the orders of the Bakufu failed to produce any effect. With the desire therefore of re-establishing the prestige of the Shogunate, they despatched the Shogun's Aide-de-camp Makino Sakon, Murakami Motomé and Nakane Ichinojo on a secret mission to the western provinces and Kiushiu, accompanied by the *ometsuké* Ito Hachigoro and Suzuki Yasogoro with two hundred men under them. They embarked<sup>o</sup> on board the steamer Choyo-maru, which sailing from the port of Yedo, went past Kishiu and Shikoku, arriving at Nakatsu in Buzen on the 4th September of the same year.

Here Ano Rishiro and a certain Yagiu of the Kokura clan came on board of the Choyo-maru as pilots, and as they were passing the straits on their way to Kokura, the fort built at Tanōura by the prince of Choshu fired on the steamer. A message was sent on shore to say

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[<sup>o</sup> On the 15th day of the 7th month, or the 28th Aug.]

that she was a vessel belonging to the Bakufu, to which answer was made, that any vessel of barbarian construction, whether it were Japanese or not, would be fired at and destroyed. So they replied that Sakon and Motomé were going to see the state of things in Kiushiu, and that Ichinojo had come on a mission to the Mori family. The others responded, that if such was the case they had better bring their vessel round to the coast of Choshu. So they steamed towards the coast of Choshu, when suddenly all the forts opened fire upon them. About three thousand two sworded men all clad in armour, with a flag on which the legend "in obedience to the order—expulsion of Barbarians" was inscribed, were drawn up on the shore; these rushed on board brandishing naked swords and spears, to search for the Kokura clansmen, without even saying 'by your leave.' The two Kokura men killed themselves. So on the 8th September the Bakufu's vessel was stopped, and Ichinojo and Yasogoro were forced to land, while Motomé and Sakon went over to Kiushiu, and after inquiring into the condition of affairs in all the castle towns of that island returned to Yedo about the end of September. Nakane Ichinojo and Suzuki Yasogoro were assassinated in Choshu by *ronins*.

<sup>(42)</sup>When the Bakufu officials heard of this affair, some were indignant at the insolent conduct of the overzealous retainers of Choshu in offering such an insult to the Bakufu, and others bewailed it; while all lamented deeply that the prestige of the Shogunate had sunk so low.

<sup>(43)</sup>About this time the prince of Choshu sent a

present of ten thousand *ryo* to the Imperial Court.

<sup>(44)</sup>The prestige of the Court was so great that every Daimio tried to obtain an official residence in the capital. The prince of Satsuma built a residence covering two or three thousand *tsubo*\* in front of the temple of Soku-kuji. The princes of Choshu, Tosa, Kurumé, Yanagawa, Sendai, and Unshu also enlarged the sites of their residences, while the princes of Chikuzen, Inshu, Higo and the rest obtained new sites for building within the city, and the princes of Owari, Echizen, Kishu, Awa, Geishu, Aidzu and Kuwana obtained sites outside, on which they built residences. All the other clans both great and small, and even the *hatamotos*, cleared land both within and without the city, to the number of more than a hundred, and built houses for themselves. As all these places were filled with troops, the town assumed a busy and flourishing aspect; shops were opened everywhere, and the whole population down to the lowest classes began to get rich.

<sup>(45)</sup>Towards the middle of August eight English men-of-war made an expedition to Kagoshima in Satsuma. They came to negotiate the payment of thirty thousand dollars as compensation to the wives and children of the persons killed at Namamugimura in Musashi in the month of September of the previous year. The prince of Satsuma replied, that the individuals in question, having been guilty of rudeness, had been punished in accordance with the laws of the Empire, and that, as for his country, no indemnity would be paid by it, at least.

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\* That is, two or three acres. Of course the size of the whole enclosure is here meant; the house itself is by no means magnificent.

On the morning\* of the 12th August, therefore, when the men of war advanced, the Satsuma clansmen could not restrain their ardour and impatience. The wind and rain were very violent this day, which they looked upon as a special favour from heaven, and joyfully therefore they fired several shots from the batteries which lined the shore. The barbarian vessels fired several shots and engaged. The combat lasted the whole day, and the *Shiusei Kuan*† was burnt by the shells fired from the barbarian ships. Although the Satsuma clan thus lost many killed and wounded, the ships were terribly knocked about by their fire, and two persons called Captain Josling and Commander Wilmot were killed. Besides these the enemy lost more than sixty killed and wounded. The Satsuma clan became more and more enthusiastic. All the intrepid Samurai of the province hastened to the spot, and exhausted their efforts in pouring forth an unceasing fire. The noise of the cannon re-echoed among the hills and valleys, and the sea seemed to boil over. The land and the sea strove together like a couple of bulls, until the robber vessels, unable to endure it any longer, were entirely defeated, and fled in disorder to the ocean.

(46) When these affairs were reported to the Imperial Court, letters of approval were sent to the clans of Satsuma and Choshu.

(47) The Bakufu, however, was intensely alarmed at these performances, and determined at any rate to go on

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\* The author is a little out. The bombardment took place on the 15th August.

† The factories are probably meant.



delaying, issued a notification to all the clans saying that, as the negotiations at Yokohama had not yet been concluded, and it could not be said yet whether the barbarians would submit or not, our side should abstain for the present from proceeding to hostilities. On hearing this, the patriots became more and more indignant, and vowed that it was now necessary to seize the Phoenix Car and get the Mikado to fight in person.

(48) On the 3rd August a communication was addressed to the court saying that the Shogun had regretted to perceive, when he was at Kioto, the poverty of the Palace, and that henceforward he would pay in 150,000 Koku of rice annually, and all that the *Kugé* should have their allowances increased.

(49) On the night of the 10th August the apartments at the back of the Kodaiji temple on the east of the capital were destroyed by fire. The cause of this was that the patriots who disliked Prince Shungaku of Echizen on account of his disrespectful behaviour towards the Court the previous spring, and had stigmatized him as an enemy of the Mikado, had heard that he was now coming again to Kioto, and that the temple Kodaiji was being repaired for his accommodation; so the ronins set fire to it. This account of the matter was written on a piece of paper and pasted up inside the shrine of Gion.

(50) About the same period the heads of several traitorous officials and tradesmen were cut off and pilloried; sometimes too they were exposed alive on the bed of the river. Here and there the dwellings of traitorous tradesmen were gutted and destroyed. All

these acts were performed by *ronins*, and although the original motive was the desire to glorify the Imperial Court, such an excess of lawless conduct prevented them from attaining the object of their aspirations, and in the end was the cause of great disaster.

<sup>(51)</sup>It now became known that the Emperor himself would set forth in person to expel the barbarians, and that a review of the military preparations and of evolutions was to take place in his presence inside the palace enclosure. So on the 18th August the troops of Aidzu Shosho, the Guardian of the Mikado's person, all in armour and commanded by officers on horseback, were marshalled in order of battle, with flags and banners waving. Katamori as commander-in-chief directed the movements, and all the evolutions of spear drill, sword exercise, gun drill, and musketry exercise were performed. Afterwards Uyesugi Danjo no Daihitsu and Inshiu Chiujo exhibited to His Majesty the musketry drill, with firing. The Emperor was much gratified, and rewarded Katamori with two pieces of cloth for war-surcoats, three pieces of gold, two hundred pieces of silver, and a saddle.

<sup>(52)</sup>On the 26th August all the Daimios in Kioto were summoned to the Palace and the following communication was made to them on behalf of the Emperor.

That His Majesty in order to pray for success in the expulsion of the barbarians, would go to Yamato to worship at the tomb of the Emperor Jimmu and at the shrine of Kasuga; that after stopping there awhile, he would call a council of war on the expedition which he was about to undertake in person, and then visit the Shrines of the gods at Isé.

<sup>(53)</sup>On the 27th the nobles of the Court and all the territorial nobles present in Kioto were ordered to attend at the Palace, and after a general Council had been held, it was secretly determined that Prince Arisugawa should be appointed generalissimo for the subjugation of the barbarian robbers. The low-class Samurai were highly inspired by this proceeding, and danced for joy that the time had come. When the Kunto officials heard of this proclamation, they were one and all terribly frightened, and knew not either how to move their hands or feet for perturbation.

<sup>(54)</sup>At the same time Nakayama Saki-no-Jijiu, who had absconded some time before from the Palace, got together a band of seventy or eighty runaway men, of whom he constituted himself the chief.\* Among them were Fujimoto Tsunoske, Matsumoto Kensaburo of Kariya in Mikawa, Yoshimura Torataro, Ike Toda of Kurume, Yoshida Jiuzo of Chikuzen, Nasu Shingo of Tosa, Sakai Denjiro of Kurume, Ozaki Jiro of Inshiu, Ando Kaske of Tosa, Ito Sanya of Kariya, Shishido Yashiro of Uyeda, Morishita Ginoske of Kurume, and his brother Ikuma, Maeda Shigema of Tosa, Asaka Goro of Yedo, Makioka Kiuhei of Yamato, Ogawa Sakichi of Kurume, Bambayashi Rokuro of Yamato, Shibuya Iyosaku of Tatebayashi, Ozaki Tomogoro of Hizen, Aramaki Hanzaburo of Kurume, Nakagaki Sotaro of Tosa, Tsuruda Toji of Kurume, Homo Ken of Tosa, Kusume Seima of Kurume, Okami Tomijiro of Mito, Inui Jiro of Gojo in Yamato, Osawa Itsuhei of Yamato,

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\* These men are commonly called the Totsugawa Ronins, because they were joined by ronins from that place in large numbers.

and Takebayashi Hachiro, besides runaways from many other clans. This band, called the Ten-chiu-gumi (Band of men loyal to Heaven : *i. e.* the Mikado) set out from Kioto, and on the 29th August proceeded from Osaka to Sayama in Kawachi, to seek the lord of that domain, the head of the Hojo house. They told him that they were the vanguard of the army conducted by the Emperor in person to the subjugation of the foreigners, and that they were bent on the conquest of traitorous officials; and would like to borrow arms from him. They obtained some cannon, muskets and saddlery and started on the following day for Yamato. Proceeding to Gojo, they attacked the official residence of the Daikuan\* Suzuki Gennai, slew Gennai himself and six smaller officials, of whom one Hasegawa Taiji, cut off their heads, pilloried them, and seizing the rice, arms and ammunition, established a camp.

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\* Officials who governed the territories of the Shogun : a sort of Collectors of Revenue.



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<sup>(1)</sup>On the 30th September a tremendous event occurred. The following are the facts. A gun was fired close to the Sun Gate of the Palace (Hi no Go-mon) about two in the morning, upon which Nakagawa no Miya went to the palace by the Ishi-yakushi Gate. The Guardian of the Mikado's person Aidzu Shosho, and the Shogun's Resident Inaba Nagato no Kami, at the head of a large force, presented themselves immediately afterwards. They were followed by Nijo Udaijin, Konoye dono and his son and Tokudaiji Naidaijin, who came in obedience to a hurried summons from the Mikado. The different gates in the neighbourhood of the Palace, and of the Palace itself, were then shut with considerable stir and strong guards stationed at them.

No one, not even the Tenso, Giso and Ministers of State, was allowed to enter. Notice was sent to the Princes of Inshiu, Bizen, Awa, Yonezawa and the other Daimios resident at the capital that an affair of great moment had occurred at the Palace, and that they must come thither at once, with their minds made up to do or die. Orders were also sent to Mori Sanuki no Kami,\*

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\* NOTE by translator—It appears from a letter written by the Prince of Aidzu to the Prince of Yonezawa, and dated October 7th 1863, that the Choshu clan was suspected of a design to seize the Mikado on his way to Yamato to visit the shrines, and to carry him off to their territories. The same letter states that the Choshu men who were lying in the neighbourhood of Kioto with this object numbered at least 1,500. The reader will perceive

the only one of the Choshu family then at Kioto, that neither he nor any of his men could be admitted into the Palace. The Satsuma clan, which since the month of June had ceased to guard the Inui Gate, was instructed this morning to man it with the speed of fire, and the Satsuma troops, in obedience to the mandate, assembled inside the Palace enclosure, to the number of four or five hundred, clad in armour and provided with cannon, by five o'clock in the evening.

<sup>(2)</sup>Immediately upon hearing that there was all this tumult in the neighbourhood of the Palace, Mori Sanuki no Kami, Kikkawa Kemmotsu and Masuda Uyemón no Ské, a chief retainer of the house of Mori, marshalled their troops and hastened thither, but when they found all the gates firmly shut, and that not a single man would be permitted to enter, they forced their way in at the back gate of Takadzukasa dono's residence to see what was the matter. When they found the Palace enclosure full of warriors in armour, and the gates all strongly guarded, they were amazed and said to themselves, "here's a tremendous business." When they asked the Kuambaku what it all meant, His Highness said that he knew nothing about it, not having been informed. From there they went to Sanjo dono, and inquired of him, but the Chiunagon Sanetomi replied that he also did not understand the meaning of this day's proceedings. Kemmotsu then escorted the Chiunagon to the residence of the Kuambaku, where, after having sent for the

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further on that the Choshu men brought a similar accusation against the Prince of Aizu, namely, that he desired, in the interests of the Shogun, to carry the Mikado off to Yedo.

Ministers of State (Koku-ji-gakari\*) to find out what was going on and to demand explanations, he waited their arrival.

(3) At this moment Nakagawa no Miya, the ex-Kuambaku Konoye Sadaijin, Nijo Udaijin, Tokudaiji Naidaijin, and Konoye Sadaisho, were assembled in the Palace in conference. The In no Miya commenced by saying that the Giso and Ministers of State had lately, under the influence of the turbulent counsels of Choshui, been saying a great many things in the Emperor's name which His Majesty had never intended. In particular, with reference to the matter of His Majesty taking the field in person, they had ascribed to him intentions which had never entered into his thoughts, much to His Majesty's displeasure.† It was evident that such impetuous and turbulent actions were the results of participation in an infamous plot of Choshui, and to have urged them upon the sovereign was the most flagrant treason. That Sanjo Chiunagon and the rest would shortly be brought to trial, and that for the present they were ordered to remain at home and to see no one. Then Yanagiwara Chiunagon was summoned and ordered to perform the duties of a Giso; and Nakayama Dainagon, Okimachi-Sanjo Dainagon, and Ano Saisho-Chiujo, who some time back had been dismissed from office on account of misconduct in the public affairs,

\* These were *kuge* who had possession of the Mikado's confidence, and were consulted by him on general questions of policy, but without executive power.

† I. i. t. Which had ruffled his scales very much; presumably the scales of the dragon which he is fabled to resemble. His face is called *Rio-gan*, the dragon-countenance, in polite phraseology.

were summoned and restored to their original functions of Giso ; while Okimachi Dainagon, Niwata Chiunagon and Hamuro Sadaiben were appointed additional Giso.

(4)The Daimios who had hastened to the Court on receiving the summons, namely Inaba Chiujo, Yonezawa Shosho and Bizen Shosho, had put on their armour and had come to garrison the Palace at the head of considerable bodies of men. Aidzu Shosho and the Shogun's resident Inaba Nagato no Kami being present at the Council, urged upon the Daimios of Inshiu, Bizen, Yonezawa and the rest that the Choshu clan harboured treasonable schemes, and had contrived a most abominable and traitorous conspiracy, in pressing and advising the Mikado to take the field in person. An order was therefore given to dismiss the Choshu clan from its posts within the Nine Gates of the Palace, and to expel all his forces from the city.

At this moment Yanagiwara Chiunagon was despatched to order the Kuambaku to appear at Court, who thereupon presented himself in company with the messenger. He was immediately summoned to the presence of the Mikado who said to him, " Although " We had not determined that the moment for Us to " take the field against the barbarians had arrived, you " have falsified Our intentions and have issued orders " which never came from Us, to Our great displeasure. " We certainly intend to take the field Ourselves and to " expel the barbarians ; on those two points Our purpose " is unchanged ; but We must put off Our departure for " the present."

(5)In spite of repeated orders to the Choshu clan,



informing them that they were relieved from the guardianship of the Sakai-Street Gate, there was no sign of yielding on their part. Yanagiwara dono was therefore despatched on a message from the Emperor to the post held by the Choshu clan, to tell Mori Sanuki no Kami, Kikkawa Kemmotsu and Masuda Uyemon no Ske to retire to their *yashiki*, and await the coming of a messenger from His Majesty. They replied that they should think it a great hardship to have to retire under such circumstances. They were therefore told to hear the Imperial orders at the residence of the Kuambaku. These orders stated that although His Majesty for some time past had resolved to take the field in person against the barbarians, he intended first to make inquiries into certain turbulent proceedings in connection with his setting forth. That His Majesty's determination to expel the barbarians was however irrevocably fixed; the Choshu clan had already served the court diligently; he therefore still relied upon it to animate the popular feeling, and desired that it would be most faithful and loyal. That as the number of men in the clan was so large, their chief should keep them quiet and restrain their turbulence, and in thus preventing the occurrence of misunderstanding, should go on, as he had always done, serving the cause of his sovereign, with all his heart and strength.

Kikkawa Kemmotsu respectfully accepted these orders and gave an acknowledgment in writing. He then said that Sanjo dono and the rest were perfectly wretched at having incurred His Majesty's displeasure, and begged with great earnestness that they might be

readmitted to his favour. The Aidzu soldiers all this time were drawn up in front of the Choshu barracks, with the muzzles of their cannon aimed against the Choshu troops, looking as if they were ready to fire at the slightest indication of an intention of stir. Kikkawa and Masuda turned to the Mikado's messenger, and asked why these violent demonstrations were made. The whole clan was becoming excited with passion, and it was impossible to tell what violence they might not proceed to. Yanagiwara dono therefore addressed himself to the Aidzu men, and ordered them to turn the muzzles of their guns the other way. Upon which, the order to withdraw the Choshu troops having been communicated by him, they promised to do so, and gradually withdrew. Immediately afterwards, the troops of the Shogun's resident, Inaba Nagato no Kami, took their place.

<sup>(6)</sup>Sanjo dono was still at the residence of the Kuambaku, whither the late Giso and Ministers of State Sanjonishi Chiunagon, Higashizono Chiujo,\* Higashikuze Shosho, Shijo Jijiu, Nishiki-koji Uma no Kami, Mibu Shuri no Tayu and Sawa Mondo no Kami, assembled one after the other to consult. At this moment Shimidzudani Saisho-Chiujo came with a message from the Mikado, to tell them that their attempt to violate the sanctity of the palace, and the urgent visit they had made to His Highness, were heinous offences, and that they must retire. If they persisted, they would be considered to be in flagrant rebellion to

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\* This noble refused to accompany the seven when they went down to Choshu.

the Mikado's orders. So Sanjo dono and the other seven *doshogata*,\* escorted by Mori Sanuki no Kami and Kikkawa and Masuda, left the palace at the head of a large body of men, and retired to the residence of the Abbot of Mio-ho-in.† The seven nobles were dressed in court Costume with their sleeves thrown back, and had their sabres on and were mounted on saddle-horses. The bodyguard which accompanied them had on *tate-e-boshi*‡, wore breast plates, gauntlets and leg-pieces, and were armed with spears and pikes. Their faces wore an expression of indignation as they withdrew, guarding the nobles before and behind, very much as when in the period of Jiuye||, long ago, the nobles of the Hei family (Heiké), attacked by the Genji (Minamoto), escorted the Emperor Antoku and fled towards the western seas.

<sup>7)</sup>At the apartments of the Abbot of Mio-ho-in, the seven nobles and the three men of Mori§ held a consultation, and at a late hour of the night Masuda Uyemon no s'ke sent in a supplication to His Highness. It represented that having been dismissed from the guard of the Sakai-machi Gate, they desired to exert their efforts in the defence of the sea coast of their country, and that Mori Sanuki no Kami and Kikkawa Kemmotsu, as well as the others stationed at Kioto, would at once return

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\* A synonym for *Kugé*, meaning literally the personages who dwell in halls.

† One of the Go Monzeki or Priest-Princes of the Imperial blood.

‡ Tate-e-boshi are long black caps of hempen cloth, worn by the *Samurai* class, bound with a white fillet on the forehead.

|| Jiuyei is the name of the Chronological period reaching from 1182-89.

§ That is Sanuki no Kami, Kikkawa and Masuda.

home. That they were grateful for the confidence reposed in them by His Majesty with respect to the expulsion of the foreigners. That the whole country would put forth all its energies with desperation. That Sanjo dono and other personages who had for years been true and faithful (thus earning the respect of the people), desired to be first in the fight against the barbarians, and that they would escort them to Choshii; and that they expected respectfully to be at once restored to the exercise of their functions.

Having sent this document in, they left at ten o'clock the same night for Fushimi. Their body guards announced their intention of accompanying them to the end of the world, but the nobles told them that they could not carry off, on their own responsibility, body-guards attached to them by the Imperial Court, seeing that they lay under the displeasure of His Majesty, and so most of them went no farther than Mio-ho-in. Some twenty or thirty accompanied the nobles on their own responsibility.

<sup>(8)</sup>It seemed likely on this occasion that some of the young and impetuous fellows might proceed to acts of violence, but the three leaders, who felt great anxiety about it, succeeded at last in pacifying them, and setting forth from Kyoto with the seven nobles in their midst, they retired to their own country.

<sup>(9)</sup>Alas for these seven nobles, who till but yesterday had performed their functions near the throne, whose glory had spread like a flood over the whole country and who had governed the princes, theirs' was a pitiful case; to-day must they undergo the hardships of a voyage to distant parts, and go to the

western provinces. How lamentable their case.

<sup>(10)</sup>On the morning of the next day, the 1st October, the departure of Sanjo dono and the others for Choshiu being as yet unknown to the Imperial Court, an order was sent to Sanjo dono's house to command his presence at the Palace; and as the answer was that he had gone the previous night to Mio-ho-in, the message was sent there. It then became known that he had already started for Choshiu. Nakagawa In no Miya<sup>o</sup> and Higo no Kami therefore urged the Mikado to decree the pursuit and chastisement of Sanjo Chiunagon and the other seven *Kugé*, for having violated the sanctity of the Palace, and disobeyed His Majesty's orders. The Imperial Court could not agree upon the matter, but at last a decree was issued depriving them of their titles and honours.

<sup>(11)</sup>A notice was issued the same day to all the clans saying that although a delay in the departure of His Majesty had been announced, the exploit of driving out the barbarians must be speedily performed. Consequently, all the clans who had the interests of the Sovereign at heart must at once expel them, without waiting for orders from the Bakufu.

<sup>(12)</sup>None of the townspeople knew a word of what had been passing. The 30th September being the annual festival of the Gorio Shrine\*, the children born during the past year were taken, from an early hour in the morning, to pay their devotions to the God who had presided over

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\* A Shrine, near Kioto dedicated to six heroes, one heroine and one god. Of the six heroes, five were rebels, the other being Kibi, the Minister of State to whom the invention of the Katakana alphabet is usually attributed.

[<sup>o</sup> Afterward Kuni-no-miya.]

their births. But on this particular occasion, unlike all others, the Nine Gates of the Palace were all shut, and not a single person allowed to pass. Not knowing the reason of this, they thought it very peculiar, and people stood here and there in the streets of Kioto, whispering and spreading all sorts of rumours, which did not tend to allay the excitement. Then they saw men running together in all directions with arms in their hands, or hastening to the Palace with the matches of their fire-arms ready. The excitement seemed to become greater and greater; some hurried about on horseback, some passed along dragging field pieces and rockets in carts. The townspeople were mightily astounded, and were afraid that something fearful had happened, until, about ten o'clock in the morning, the whole place was in a commotion. Several myriads of soldiers of the different clans stationed at Kioto were running hither and thither, all clad in armour, and making the dust and stones fly about as they unceasingly hurried to and fro.

When the townspeople saw that the wives and children of the *Kugé* and officials were departing to the neighbouring villages accompanied by servants laden with their most valuable property, they began to be alarmed for their own safety too, and packing up their furniture and other moveables, removed them to the neighbouring villages. Just as on the occasion of a grand conflagration, there were many who abandoned the houses inhabited by their ancestors before them, and fled away.

<sup>(13)</sup>So the day's festival could not be celebrated and by night-fall the rumours became more and more disquieting. All the clans were moving up provisions to the Palace to

the sound of *yei, yei, yei\**, and the enclosure was so full of lanterns that it seemed almost like broad daylight. All the soldiers were cased in armour, and several myriads of them with loaded muskets stood waiting arranged in order, ready to fire as soon as the word should be given. This military fierceness was wonderful to behold, and every one thought that the fighting might commence at any moment.

<sup>(14)</sup>However, as there was no enemy to fight, and no rebels appeared to be approaching, the soldiers who had turned out could not understand the object of it all, but they remained all day in the Palace enclosure, their mouths watering to begin.

<sup>(15)</sup>Up to last year the people of different classes in Kioto had seen fire arms in pictures or on the stage, but no one had ever seen a real matchlock; on rare occasions they had perhaps seen the weapon of some hunter from the distant wilds, and it had been esteemed a rare and curious sight. Since last winter however firearms had been openly carried in the streets of the capital to the general astonishment. Few there were who did not lament this fearful age, when soldiers carried firearms in the neighbourhood of the Throne, and dreadful to relate, rushed wildly in with open touch-holes.

<sup>(16)</sup>Four or five days passed without the Nine Gates being opened, and the town was extremely uneasy; but on the 7th October, the gates were opened and people were allowed to pass through, as before, so that tranquillity gradually returned.

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\* The noise made by the carmen to enable all to keep time in pushing the carts.

<sup>(17)</sup>The bands of Ronins and low class Samurai who had roamed about Kioto were sought diligently after, and all who bore the slightest resemblance to them were arrested. As one of the Mori family, which the Ronins had made their rallying point, were permitted to put foot in the capital, some of them betook themselves to Choshu, and others joined the band in Yamato, so that the Ronin sort became rare in Kioto. The traitorous tradesmen, therefore, profiting by this second opportunity, put up the price of every article in the twinkling of an eye, and all men regretted the Choshu family as a child lost its mother.

<sup>(18)</sup>From this time the scheme of expelling the barbarians fell to pieces like ice during a thaw, and the prestige which had accrued to the Imperial Court seemed to be lessened again by its own acts. Some time after the Prince of Choshu sent in a memorial to the Emperor by the hands of Kan-shiu-ji\* dono to the following effect.

“His Majesty had resolutely made up his mind with regard to the expulsion of the barbarians since the summer of 1862, and had placed great reliance on the Shimadzu family and on my humble clan. The whole of my country consequently zealously co-operated, and we induced the Shogun to come up to Kioto. His Majesty then fixed the date for the expulsion of the barbarians, and the soldiers down in my country, animated by the sincerest zeal, fought hard to drive out the barbarians. We were ahead of all other clans in producing a successful result, for which I received His Majesty’s approval in writing. The slander of one

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\* A Kugé.



“morning has now thrown the foot of the throne into  
“confusion, and I have been dismissed from my duty of  
“guarding my sovereign. Sanjo Sanetomi and six other  
“nobles, who have hitherto served the state with fidelity  
“and success, have been deprived of their functions. It  
“pains me deeply to think that His Majesty’s feelings  
“should so have changed. Setting aside the question of  
“my humble clan, I have prayed His Majesty to restore  
“their employments to these seven nobles without delay,  
“but His Majesty totally refuses to listen to my sugges-  
“tion.

“When I sent up my *karô* Negoro Kadzusa to carry  
“a tearful petition to His Majesty, he was told he might  
“proceed as far as Osaka with a small number of men.  
“In compliance with this order, he stopped there a long  
“time, and passed many days in fruitless waiting, for in  
“the end no answer came from His Majesty. Then,  
“when he asked again and again for a reply, he received  
“a communication from the Tenso to say that Mori  
“Sânuki no Kami and his associates had incurred His  
“Majesty’s suspicion, in connection with the affair of  
“September 30th; that I must inquire into it at once and  
“give His Majesty an explanation; that I should carefully  
“consider that the loyal efforts made by myself and my  
“son up to the present time were manifest, and speak  
“accordingly. So Kadzusa bearing this order returned  
“to his country.” Subsequently the Prince of Choshu  
sent one of his retainers named Ibara Kazuye to explain  
these things humbly to the Mikado, but His Majesty  
would not admit his representations. Then the Princes of  
Inshiu, Bizen and Tsuyama remonstrated with his Majesty

and with the Bakufu, warning them that, if the offences of the seven nobles and of Choshiu were not pardoned, calamity would closely follow. But His Majesty refused to listen to them.

<sup>(19)</sup>To return to another part of our subject. On the 30th of August the young noble Nakayama Tadamitsu dono, having slain Suzuki Gennai, the Daikuan of Gojo in Yamato, and taken up his abode there, took counsel how he should proceed.

Hereupon the Tenso, Giso and Ministers of State sent a message to him by Hirano Jiro, of the Chikuzen clan, a student of the Gakushiu-in, to tell him not to commit any acts of violence, as the Mikado was going to take the field in person in a few days. He seemed to consent and to be doing what he could to keep his men under control, but having received report after report on the morning of the 1st October of the troubles at Kioto on the previous day, and of the tumult at the palace, the whole band were much frightened. "After this, we may expect "in a few days to have an attacking party sent against us "by the Bakufu, with orders to subdue us. Shall we "remain quietly here to be subdued? Never! Let us "rather rouse all our energies and make our name blaze "forth to the sky." Everyone of them was wrought to the highest pitch of desperate enthusiasm, and their heroism increased a hundred-fold. On the morning of the 8th October the whole force, amounting to three hundred and odd men, made an attack on the castle of Takatori. The lord of the place, Uyemura Suruga no Kami, took the command of his men, and defended it. Sometimes too he made a sudden sally in full force. But the as-

sailants being an undisciplined band, and being moreover in provided with arms and provisions, were in the end routed by the garrison, and fled in disorder to Amanogawa, where they entrenched themselves.

<sup>(20)</sup>At Kioto such a rigorous search was prosecuted after ronins, that all the gangs gradually fled and joined their fellows at Amanogawa, so that the numbers of the latter now amounted to over five hundred men. The Kishiu family, the prince Todo and the prince of Hikone were ordered to send attacking parties against them, and though they all despatched men to Yamato and fought several engagements, the Tenchiugumi, being collected in a place of vantage; being animated by the feeling of the justice of their cause, and despising their lives as so much dirt; were not easily to be driven out. Instead of succeeding in the attack, the camp of the assailants was taken and set on fire several times, and the provisions carried off.

The assailants finding the enemy too strong for them, orders were given to the Prince of Kaga to furnish an attacking force; and the combats being renewed, the Tenchiugumi at last tired of fighting, for their provisions and ammunition came to an end, and they received no reinforcements. So they left the place by threes and fives, and their number gradually diminished. At last there were only fifty or sixty of them left, and as it seemed impossible for them to hold out any longer, the commander-in-chief Nakayama Tadamitsu fled. The leader Fujimoto Tesseki, with Matsumoto Kenzaburo, Yoshimura Torataro, Nasu Shingo, Shishido Yashiro, Maeda Shigema, Hayashi Heishiro and Kusume Shidzuma died fighting

bravely, while Inui Jiuro, Okami Tomijiro, Tsuji Ikunoske, Yasuoka Onotaro, Sawamura Kokichi, Sakai Denjiro, Yoshida Jiuzo, Tadokoro Tozaburo, Shimamura Shogo, Minabe Kohayato, Nagano Ichiro, Homo Tate, Nakagaki Sotaro, Tsuruda Toji, Eto Tanehachi, Aramaki Hanzaburo, Doi Sanoske, Shibuya Iyosaku, Ozaki Tomogoro, Bambayashi Rokuro, Morishita Ginoske, Asaka Goro, Ando Kasuke, Ozaki Jiro, Sawada Kokichi and some others were taken prisoners. Ikenouchi Kurata, Makioka Kiuhei and Ozawa Itsuhei, with some others; accompanied the young noble Nakayama, and went off to Choshu.

<sup>(21)</sup>So when all those brave Samurai were thus killed or taken prisoners, they were defeated, and by the middle of November the Yamato disturbances were put down.

<sup>(22)</sup>About this time, that is in the beginning of November, news came that a large number of Ronins were collected together at the silver mines of Ikuno in Tajima, and the neighbouring Daimios were ordered to go and quell them. The origin of the affair was as follows. In the previous summer, when Prince Shimadzu went up to Kioto, Hirano Jiro, a runaway from Chikuzen, sent in a memorial to the Imperial Court urging the expulsion of the barbarians. Subsequently for some reason or other, he was placed in confinement in his native country; but was shortly after summoned by the Emperor and employed in the *Gakushin-in*. On the occasion of these disturbances in Yamato, he had been ordered to go thither and try to quiet them; but hearing of the tumult at Kioto, he returned thither, and subsequently urged with much persistence his humble petition that the seven nobles should be re-appointed to office and

Choshu be pronounced innocent. With the desire of restoring the Imperial law which demanded the expulsion of the barbarians, he then proceeded to Tajima, and after concerting measures with others of the same opinions, went on himself to Mitajiri in Suwo, and invited Sawa Mondo no Kami, one of seven nobles to join him in his desire of getting up a volunteer expedition to lay complaints before the Mikado by force.

(23) The following men joined themselves to his band: Mitama Sampei, a runaway from Satsuma, Kawamata Saichiro, a runaway from Mito, Tanaka Guntaro, a runaway from Geishiu, Fuji Shiro, a runaway from Chikuzen, Honda Soko, a runaway from Zezé, Yoshimura Ukio, a retainer of Sawa dono, Chosokabe Tahichiro of Awa, Kimura Ainoske of Miyadzu in Tango, Ota Rokuyemon of the same clan, Kuroda Yoichiro, of the same clan, Mimaki Tozo and Minami Hachiro of Choshu, Tohara Ukitsu, a runaway of Akidzuki in Chikuzen, Shiroishi Rensaku, Odamura Shinichi, Ito Saburo, Shimose Takehiko and Ogawa Tozo runaways from Mito, Hida Sayemon, Kuru Shinzaburo, Nagano Kachisuke, Nishimura Seitaro, Wada Kodenji, Izeki Hidetaro, Omura Tatsunoske and Tada Yataro, who made their rendezvous at the temple of Yenoji in the village of Morishiwo, all clad in armour.

On the 21st November they attacked the official residence of Kawakami Itaro, the Daikuan of the silver mines, and seized a quantity of gold, silver and rice. Kawakami Itaro was just then absent inspecting the crops at Kurashiki in Bitchu, leaving behind him only his family and servants. These were driven out of the

official buildings, which were converted into a camp.

As soon as it was known that they were assembled in this place, orders were given to Himeji, Tatsuno, Okayama, Idzushi, Miyadzu, Sakakibara, Sonôbé, Mineyama and Tanabé, to go and subdue them. All of these daimios at once set forth.

Upon hearing of this, and of the defeat of the force in Yamato, followed by the fight of the young noble, Nakayama, and the loss by capture or death of the rest of the band, the courage of the rioters cooled, and they saw that they had lost their opportunity. It was evidently impossible after these events, to hold out encamped where they were.

So seventy or eighty<sup>o</sup> ronins and three or four hundred peasant soldiers quitted the place, with the object of securing a place of vantage, and betook themselves to Miokenzan near the village of Morishiwo in the same province, with Minami Hachiro for their leader. They were making preparations at this point for receiving an attack and for dying in one last heroic struggle, when they were surprised by the approach of the Okayama and Idzushi forces. Up to this moment the peasants had stuck by the ronins, but they now suddenly turned traitors, and turning their spear-points, played a trick on the latter, on whom they poured down a destructive fire, after having gained the top of the mountain. Disgusted at seeing no hope of escape, the ronins thus hid in the mountains, with Minami Hachiro at their head, ripped up their bowels and died, on the 24th November. The leader, Hirano Jiro, invited Sawa

Mondo no Kami to make his escape, and having conducted him to a place of safety, was himself surrounded by the Toyōoka forces at Amibamura and taken prisoner. Of the rest of the band, Midama Sampei, Nakahara Taichi, Yoshimura Ukio, Chosokabé Tashichiro and some more provoked an attack and were killed fighting. Kuroda Yoichi, Okawa Tozo, Kawamata Saichiro killed themselves. Mimaki Tozo, Kimura Ainoske, Honda Soko and some others were taken prisoners and all sent to Kioto. The remainder accompanied Sawa dono in his flight. So the Ikuno disturbances were completely quelled.

<sup>(24)</sup>With respect to the matter of the expulsion of the barbarians a decree was issued by the Imperial Court to the Daimios, saying that His Majesty was informed by the Shogun that negotiations were being proceeded with in Kuantō for the closing of the ports; that the directions of the Bakufu were to be followed in all things, and that no rash or violent actions must be committed. Hereupon the patriotic Samurai became highly excited and indignant, but having no one to help them, departed in a body to Choshū, in the hope of being able, when once there, to restore the old law about the expulsion of the barbarians.

<sup>(25)</sup>In consequence the Kuantō officials, who were under the impression that the authority of the Tokugawa family was now restored, gave themselves up to expressions of joy and content.

<sup>(26)</sup>On the 25th of October Makino Bizen no Kami was reappointed *Kakuro*.

<sup>(27)</sup>On the 13th November prince Shimadzu (Saburo)

entered Kioto for the third time. Grieving profoundly over the state of affairs then existing, he devoted all his energies to the discovery of a policy which should aid the Shogun in performing his duty against the barbarians, and in giving peace to the empire. He also proposed to assist in setting the Tokugawa family up again, and that the Shogun, Hitotsubashi dono and Echizen Shungaku should pay another visit to the capital.

<sup>(28)</sup>Nakagawa no Miya, who had for years past devoted himself to the interests of the state, now received the site of the Kiu-in-go-ten\* as a gift, and removing his residence thither, was appointed to the office of Danjo no In (Chief of the College of Censors), wherefore he was henceforth usually entitled the In no Miya.

<sup>(29)</sup>The Kuambaku Takadzukasa Udaijin Sukéhiro resigned his office, in which he was succeeded by Nijo Udaijin Nariyuki.

<sup>(30)</sup>The Shogun was now ordered to come with all speed to Kioto, for the Imperial Court had business to transact with him; and Hitotsubashi dono setting out as his forerunner on board a man of war, arrived at Hiogo on the 2nd January 1864, whence he proceeded to Osaka on the following day. The same night a fire broke out at the western end of the Shinmachi bridge, and the wind blowing fresh from the north-west, the whole of Minami-sem-ba was consumed in the conflagration. The fire spread from the Higashibori (eastern canal), destroying Kamimachi and Tamatsukuri on its way, right up to the fields on the east of the town.

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\* The Palace of the previous emperor, burnt down by a fire a few years previously.



It was at last got under at eight o'clock on the morning of the 5th. A space measuring 30 *cho*\* east and west, and ten odd *cho* north and south, was laid bare. One hundred and fifty streets, containing 14,000 houses, besides four villages, were consumed by the flames.

<sup>(31)</sup>Hitotsubashi dono entered Kioto on the 5th January and took up his quarters at the Eastern Honguanji.

<sup>(32)</sup>On the 1st of February a steamer belonging to the Prince of Satsuma was fired on from the ports as she was passing through the straits of Shimonoseki and sunk, the Choshu clansmen mistaking her for a barbarian vessel.

<sup>(33)</sup>On the 4th of February the Shogun embarked on board a man-of-war, in obedience to the Mikado's summons, for Kioto. He anchored one night in Shinagawa roads, and set sail the following day. At Uraga he landed and held an artillery review, after which he reembarked and loosening his cable, went out of port. He passed the Japanese new year on board, and arrived at Hiogo on the 11th day of the first month of the following year (18th February). He proceeded thence to Osaka by land and embarking on board a river barge, reached the castle of Nijo on the 22nd. Shortly afterwards Echizen Shungaku, Matsudaira Shimosa no Kami and the rest of the *fudai*† Daimios came to Kioto one by one.

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\* A *cho* is 120 yards; the usual length of a ward in a Japanese town.

† *Fudai*, literally "all ages," *i. e.* hereditary vassals of the Shogunate. The term *Fudai* is also applied to all hereditary retainers.

(34) On the 27th February a messenger from the Mikado appeared at the Castle of Nijo to convey the appointment of Udaijin to the Shogun Iyemochi Kô. Echizen Shungaku was appointed Okura Tayu (Vice Minister of the Treasury). Shimadzu Saburo was elevated to the 2nd class of the 4th rank, and decorated with the titles of Shosho and Osumi no Kami, with correlative rank among the Daimios, as a reward for his exertions in years past and for his good services in assisting the restoration of the Tokugawa family.

(35) On the 28th of February the Shogun had an audience of the Mikado in order to offer the compliments of the season. His suite consisted of Hitotsubashi Chiunagon Yoshinobu, Aidzu Chiujo Katamori, the military governor of Kioto, Sakai Uta no Kami of Himeji, Midzuno Idzumi no Kami of Yamagata, both *kakuro*, Inaba Nagato no Kami the Shogun's Resident, the Sansei Tanuma Gemba no Kami and Inaba Hiobu-shoyu, Hayashi Higo no Kami the Governor of Fushimi, and the following Daimios; Echizen Chiujo, Hikoné Shosho, Takamatsu Shosho, Matsuyama Shosho, Chikuzen Jijiu, Todo Jijiu, Geishiu Jijiu, Kuwana Jijiu, Takata Jijiu, Matsudaira Kai no Kami, Akidzuki Ukio no S'ke, Abe Kazuyé no Kami, Doi Noto no Kami, Akimoto Tajima no Kami, Nagai Shinano no Kami, Ikeda Tango no Kami, Masuyama Kawachi no Kami, Seki Mimbushoyu, Oda Yamashiro no Kami, Sawa Kadzusa no Ské, Soma Daizen no S'ké, and the Warrior-in-waiting Matsudaira Wakasa no Kami, all dressed in their court robes and mounted on horseback. The Kuambaku Nariyuki, with the Giso and Tenso and other nobles were ranged

in the order of their respective ranks in the Privy Council Chamber (*Ko-go-sho*), and were\* harangued together with the Shogun and forty-eight clans. The In no Miya, in the presence of the assembly, received the Imperial speech with proper respect and conveyed it to the others. It was to the following effect. "A glance at the present  
"condition of affairs shows at home the laws put aside,  
"the bonds of society loosened and the people groaning  
"under a weight of misery; on all sides there is evidence  
"of dissolution and ruin. Abroad, we are exposed to  
"the insults of five great continents of haughty barbarians, and the calamity of being swallowed up by  
"them threatens us at every moment. The danger is  
"like unto piling eggs in a heap, or to the singeing of  
"an eyebrow. Our thoughts are so occupied by these  
"things that We can neither eat nor sleep. Alas!  
"Alas! Ye men of office what think ye of it? But  
"you are not to blame. Our own want of virtue the  
"cause. The crime is Ours alone; and what will the  
"god of heaven and earth say of Us? How can We  
"dare to meet Our ancestors underground. It seems to  
"Us that you are Our babes, and the love We bear to  
"you is as that of a mother for her child. Do you  
"therefore regard Us in the light of a parent, for on the  
"depth or shallowness of that affection hangs the success  
"or failure of the attempt to restore the Empire. How  
"serious a matter it is! Do you therefore give your  
"whole mind to the subject day and night and respond  
"to the prayer expressed by the national heart.

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\* The Mikado is not in the habit of speaking his speeches; they are read for him by some other person, usually his chief Minister.

“ The subjugation of the ugly barbarians is a fundamental law of our polity, and we must set an army on foot in order to strike awe into them and chastise them. But We like not in truth a reckless attack upon the barbarians. Do you therefore ponder an efficient scheme and submit it to Us. We will then discuss its merits with care, and come to a firm and irrevocable determination.

“ We believe that in order to restore the Empire to its ancient splendour we must have a man equal to the task. We are confident, when we look round upon Our hundred of Military Leaders, that such a man exists, but at the present moment Aidzu Chiujo, Echizen Saki no Chiujo,\* Date Saki no Jijiu,† Tosa Saki no Jijiu‡ and Shimadzu Shosho appear to Us trusty and faithful to a high degree, and sagacious in counsel, and therefore fit to undertake the important interests of the state. We love them as Our children; do you|| therefore be affectionate to them and work with them. We swear to you to restore the Empire from its fallen state, to follow in the steps of the spirits of the departed Emperors and to rescue the people out of their misery. Should the work be neglected and the result be unsuccessful, We and you would be specially to blame. The Gods and Spirits of Heaven and Earth would condemn us. Be you therefore diligent, be you therefore diligent.”

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\* The old Prince of Echizen, also called Matsudaira Shungaku.

† The old Prince of Uwajima, afterwards Date Okura Kio.

‡ The old Prince of Tosa, called Yamanouchi Yolo.

|| This is addressed to the Shogun.

A second Imperial Letter\*.

"We with Our feeble body treat the celestial throne,  
"and have unworthily received the Golden Jar which  
"endures for a myriad generations; but Our virtue is  
"always inadequate to the task, and We are afraid of  
"offending against the former Emperors and Our people.  
"Since the year 1853 the foreign barbarians have con-  
"tinuously and with fierce violence come to Our ports,  
"so that the country has been exposed to unspeakable  
"danger. The prices of all articles have risen and the  
"people have suffered grievous affliction. What will the  
"gods of heaven and earth say of Us? Alas! Alas!  
"Whose fault is it? Morning and evening We hold  
"council upon it. What is to be done? After a peace  
"of more than two hundred years, Our military power  
"is insufficient to put down our foreign enemies, and We  
"therefore fear lest to revive recklessly the law of  
"punishment and warning would be to plunge the state  
"into unfathomable disasters. The Bakufu has resolute-  
"ly spread abroad Our will, has reformed the antique  
"laws of ten generations and more; he has released the  
"Daimios from attendance on him at Yedo, and has  
"sent back their wives and children to their homes.  
"He has retrenched the unnecessary expenses of the  
"public service, has diminished those which are ordi-  
"narily incurred, and has made large provision of war  
"vessels. Truly this is not only Our good fortune but

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\* The translator has been obliged to correct the text here, which is full of faults and badly printed in the original, by comparison with another work called the Kin-se-ya-shi. These two documents are huddled into one in the Genji-yume-monogatari.

“the good fortune of Our ancestors and the people also.  
“Moreover, the revival last spring of the old practice  
“of coming up to the capital is certainly worthy of  
“commendation.

“But contrary to all anticipation, Fujiwara Sane-  
“tomi and others, believing the violent words of low and  
“vulgar fellows, and disregarding the condition of the  
“Empire and the safety of the state, have falsified our  
“command, and issued orders to soldiers of low rank to  
“expel the barbarians, and madly have tried to raise up  
“war to destroy the Shogun.

“The violent servants of the Saisho of Nagato have  
“made a tool and a plaything of their master, have with-  
“out provocation fired upon barbarian ships, have mur-  
“dered the messengers of the Bakufu, and have for their  
“own purposes seduced away Sanetomi and others to  
“their province. Such mad and turbulent people must  
“certainly be punished. Nevertheless, as all this arises  
“from Our want of virtue, we sincerely feel unspeakable  
“repentance and shame. Moreover, We are of opinion  
“that if our war vessels are compared with those of  
“foreigners, it will be seen that they are as yet insuffi-  
“cient either to destroy the fierceness of the proud  
“barbarians, or to manifest the dignity of our country  
“abroad ; but on the contrary we receive constant insults  
“at their hands. You must therefore, as you have  
“frequently asked permission to do, fortify the important  
“harbours of the Inland Sea, with the whole resources  
“of the empire, subjugate the ugly barbarians, and carry  
“out the Law of Punishment and Warning made by the  
“former Emperors.

“ Last year the Shogun stopped a long time at  
“ Kioto, and this spring he has again come here. All  
“ the Daimios, too, have run hither and thither, and have  
“ sent back their wives and children to their homes.  
“ All this is good. Henceforth no expenses must be  
“ incurred which are not for military defences ; the luxury  
“ and waste consequent upon a long state of peace must  
“ be diligently cut down ; you must exert all your powers  
“ and give your whole mind to it ; you must make your  
“ preparations for the subjugation complete and trench-  
“ ant. You must fulfil all the duties of a military vassal  
“ and preserve the name of your family from everlasting  
“ disgrace. Alas ! Alas ! You, the Shogun, and all the  
“ Daimios of every province are Our babes. Desiring  
“ therefore in concert with Us to regenerate the Empire,  
“ you must not waste the property of the nation, you  
“ must abstain from effeminate prodigality, and you  
“ must be resolute in preparing for Punishment and  
“ Warning. If you are indolent or remiss, you will  
“ thereby not only highly offend against Our will, but  
“ you will rebel against the spirits of the Emperor-Gods,  
“ and act contrary to the intentions of your ancestors.  
“ Moreover what will the gods and spirits of heaven and  
“ earth say of you ? ”

A copy of these documents was delivered by the Tenso Sadayoshi and Toshikatsu to each of the Daimios. The Shogun and Daimios present then signified their acceptance of the Imperial mandate, and took their leave. The decree was also sent to the Daimios who were in their territories at this moment, and was forwarded post haste to them by their chief retainers

(33) On the 21st March, the Shogun sent in his answer, which was as follows\* :—

“ The Imperial letter which I was commanded to  
“ read on the 5th March, declared that his Majesty  
“ deigned to take upon his sacred self all the misfortunes  
“ which have befallen the country since his succession,  
“ at which announcement I trembled and feared with  
“ exceeding grief and joy. Now the Bakufu confesses  
“ himself the cause of all the calamities which have  
“ occurred of late and he knows that his crimes are many  
“ in number. His Majesty’s servant Iyemochi, with his  
“ degenerate person, has continually disgraced his im-  
“ portant office. He has neglected the administation  
“ of the laws, while disorder and misfortune have been  
“ perpetual throughout the country. For many years  
“ has he troubled the Imperial bosom, and although,  
“ when he came up last spring to the capital, he received  
“ the Imperial orders to expel the barbarians, that result  
“ has not yet been attained ; not only have the con-  
“ ferences about closing of the port of Yokohama not  
“ been completed, but the date for that exploit to be  
“ performed cannot be fixed. Therefore, when, in  
“ obedience to a second order he came up to the capital,  
“ he fully expected to meet with the Imperial dis-  
“ pleasure, and to be severely reprimanded ; but contrary  
“ to his expectation, he has received the Emperor’s  
“ approbation ; and not only that, but in the most  
“ benevolent and kind way, His Majesty has said that  
“ he loves his servant Iyemochi and the nobles as his

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\* The translator has taken this also from the Kin-se-ya-shi, as it is given there in full.



“babes; and moreover has given them some valuable  
“admonitions for the future. His Majesty’s servant  
“Iyemochi has no means of requiting this kindness,  
“which is as lofty as the mountains and as profound  
“as the ocean. Henceforth he will reform the old abuses  
“which occur in ten thousand matters, he will look on all  
“the Daimios as his brethren, he will unite his strength  
“with theirs, he will fulfil the duties of a servant and a  
“child, he will diligently retrench the unnecessary  
“expenditure which a long period of peace has given rise  
“to, he will strictly carry on the military preparations,  
“he will arrange the internal Government of the country,  
“and he will give life again to the people. The protection  
“of the seaboard is a matter of course, and he will carry to  
“the highest degree of perfection the military defences of  
“every province; he will put an end to the contemptuous  
“treatment we receive from the barbarians, and will pre-  
“pare vessels of war; in the end he will revive the great  
“law of Punishment and Warning, and cause the dignity  
“of our country to be known beyond the seas. To all  
“these things will he give his most diligent attention.

“He says with diffidence, that he desires to set the  
“Imperial bosom at rest. But he will strictly observe  
“the Imperial wish that Punishment and Warning should  
“not be recklessly entered upon, and he hopes to be able  
“to devise such a plan as shall ensure certain victory.  
“As he has already sent envoys to foreign countries to  
“speak about the matter of closing the port of Yoko-  
“hama, he hopes, at all events, to be able to accomplish  
“that; but as the dispositions of the barbarians are hard  
“to fathom, he will continue to be most diligent and

“energetic in the fortification of the seaboard. He will  
“perform strictly the duties of a military vassel; all these  
“weighty schemes shall be formed in accordance with  
“the national wishes, and he prays for the Imperial  
“approval. Restoring the fallen fortunes of ths Empire,  
“he will on the one hand destroy the fierceness of the  
“proud barbarians, and on the other protect the lives of  
“the people, and tranquillize the Imperial bosom. He  
“will show his gratitude to the spirits of the Emperor-  
“gods, and carry out the policy bequeathed to him by  
“his ancestors.

“This then is the most earnest and truthful prayer of  
“His Majesty’s servant Iyemochi, wherefore he presents  
“this in answer.

“His Majesty’s servant Iyemochi with real fear and  
“real awe strikes his head on the ground and bows  
“reverentially.”

<sup>(37)</sup>A great many people, on the arrival of the Shogun at Kioto, had expected to see him receive a severe reprimand from the Mikado for so constantly putting off the date of the expulsion of the barbarians. When it was known that full power had been committed to him to act in the matter of the expulsion of the barbarians, those who had hitherto exerted themselves in the service of the state and had desired to accomplish the expulsion of the barbarians, were deeply grieved.

<sup>(38)</sup>On the 3rd April the Shogun had an audience of His Majesty. His retinue consisted of Hitotsubashi, prince Echizen, the prince of Aidzu the Supreme Administrator of Affairs, the *Kakuro*, *Sansci*, his resident, and the Warriors-in-waiting. The rank of

Jiu-ichi-i was conferred on him by an Imperial decree as a reward for his having completed during the past year repairs of the cemetery of \*Jimmutenno.

<sup>(39)</sup>On the 14th of March the Shogun went to pray at the temple of Senyujit. On the 19th he went to pray at Chi-on-in. On the 22nd he had an audience of the Mikado.

<sup>(40)</sup>On the 24th March Aidzu Higo no Kami resigned the office of military governor of Kioto and was appointed commander-in-chief of the land forces; Matsudaira Yamato no Kami became *Sosai Shoku*. The civil governor of the eastern side of the city, Nagai Mondo no Kami, became an Ometsuké, and Kasuya Chikugo no Kami became Warrior in Waiting.

<sup>(41)</sup>About this time there came up to Kioto, as messengers from the nobles who some time previously had made their escape from that city, Kawamura Noto no Kami, retainer of Sanjo-nishi dono, and Niwa Idzumo.<sup>o</sup> As they were proceeding thither to present themselves before the Tenso with the memorial of which they were the bearers, the governor of Fushimi made them captive and put them in prison.

<sup>(42)</sup>On the 25th March the ronins concerned in the attempt made last year in Yamato were put to death. Takigawa Harima no Kami, the civil governor, read out their sentences to them, and their heads were afterwards cut off in prison. Their names were Asaka Goro, Shibuya Iyosaku, Okami Tomijiro, Sakai Denjiro, Tsuruda Toji, Aramaki Hanzaburo, Nakagaki Sotaro, Eto Tanehachi,

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\* The first Japanese Emperor. † Temple where the Mikados have been buried from the time of the Emperor Shijo.

[<sup>o</sup> no Kami, retainer of Sanjo dono.]

Ozaki Jiro, Tadokoro Tojiro, Doi Sanoské, Yasuoka Kasuke, Sawamura Kokichi, Morishita Ginoké, Shimamura Shogo, Yasuoka Onotaro, Ozaki Tomogoro, Bambayashi Rokuro and Nagano Ichiro, nineteen in number. After this the search for ronins was so vigilantly conducted, that no one was left to advocate the expulsion of the barbarians. Nevertheless all the clans sent in repeated memorials, advising that Choshu should be allowed to enter Kioto, the seven nobles be reinstated, and the expulsion of the barbarians be reenacted, but as His Majesty turned a deaf ear to their entreaties, they looked up to heaven and lamented. Every one felt that if this of state things continued to endure, the empire was certain to become the theatre of civil war, and the fortunes of the Tokugawa family would become precarious; the sensation was like walking on a thin sheet of ice.

(43) This year being *Kinoye no*,\* the name of the period was changed in the second month, in accordance with precedent, and the new name adopted was *Genji*.

(44) On the 12th of April the Shogun had an audience of His Majesty. His suit consisted of Matsudaira Okura no Tayu†, Sakakibara Shikibu Tayu, Matsudaira Etchiku no Kami‡, Inaba Nagato no Kami, Matsudaira Shimosa no Kami, Hitotsubashi Chiunagon, Owari Dainagon, and more than thirty of the Daimios resident at Kioto in addition.

(45) On the 13th May the Shogun's Resident, Inaba Nagato no Kami was appointed a *kakurô*, and was suc-

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\* The first year of the Cycle.

† Shungaku.

‡ Kuwana.

ceeded in his previous office by Matsudaira Etchiu no Kami. Matsudaira Higo no Kami\* was again appointed Military Governor of Kioto. Mito Chiunagon and Kii Chiunagon received the rank of Sho-sam-mi. Matsudaira Okura no Tayu was made Saisho, with the rank of Sho-shi-i. Ii Kamon no Kami received the title of Chiujo. Matsudaira Etchiu no Kami was made a Sho-sho. The ex-Dainagon of Owari received the rank of Sho-ni-i, Matsudaira Awa no Kami, Matsudaira Mutsu no Kami,† Matsudaira Sagami no Kami,‡ Matsudaira Kanso§ and Matsudaira Mino no Kami§ were all made Saisho. Nambu Mino no Kami, and Arima Nakadzukasa no Tayu were appointed *Chiujo*. Todo Daigaku no Kami, Matsudaira Shimotsuke¶ no Kami, and Satake Ukio Daibu\* were made Sho-sho. Matsudaira Yodo† became Sho-sho with the rank of Jiu-shi-i. Nakagawa Shiuri no Tayu, received the rank of Jiu-shi-i-no-gè, and Matsudaira Awaji no Kami‡ was appointed a Sho-sho. All these promotions were made at the request of the Shogun, as a reward for the exertions made by the recipients in the service of the state.

(46) On the 3rd of June the Shogun had a audience of the Mikado. His suite was composed of Hitotsubashi

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\* Aidzu.

† Sendai.

‡ Cadet of Inshiu.

§ Inkio or ex-Daimio of Hizen.

§ Chikuzen.

¶ Son of prince of Chikuzen.

\* Akita.

† Inkio of Tosa.

‡ The present prince of Awa.

Chiunagon, the Military Governor of Kioto, the Resident, and the *Kakurô* Sakai Uta no Kami, Midzuno Idzumi no Kami and Inaba Nagato no Kami.\* His Majesty's speech on this occasion was as follows:—

“The duties of the Bakufu are on the one hand to govern the empire in peace, and on the other to subjugate the barbarians; but during a long period of peace, all classes have sunk in sloth, and the present aspect of affairs is such as to wring the Imperial bosom deeply. The Shogun however has come up to the capital and in concert with assembled Daimios has determined on the best policy to be pursued in the interests of the nation. His Majesty, in the exercise of his wisdom, has seen fit to commit full powers to the Bakufu, and he desires that the orders of government shall therefore proceed from a single centre, that the suspicions of the popular mind shall not be excited. He therefore orders you to fulfil the duties of your office enumerated above. Further you must accomplish without fail the exploit of closing the port of Yokohama. With respect to the punishment of Choshiu, His Majesty gives you no special directions as to the runaway nobles and the turbulent retainers of that clan, but you are ordered to punish them as you think fit, full powers being entrusted to you for that purpose.”

The Shogun received these orders with gratitude, and said in reply that he would henceforward pay in two thousand bags of rice annually for the support of the Shrines in Isé. That the Shoguns should in future go to Kioto to receive investiture on their succession to

\* Subsequently Mino no Kami.

office. That the *Sanké*\* and all the other Daimios should proceed to Kioto to receive investiture on, succeeding to their fiefs, and on receiving titles and honours. That the western Daimios should call upon His Majesty on the occasions of their journeys to Yedo. That the guardianship of the Nine Gates should be entrusted to the Shogun's vassals of not less than 3000 *koku*. That all the Daimios should annually make presents to the Mikado of the production of their provinces. That all playing on musical instruments throughout the Empire should be stopped on the occasions of the deaths of Princes of the Blood and Ministers of State, and that the Palaces enclosure should be extended on the north and east. These and other articles to the number of eighteen were referred to the Mikado, who graciously approved of them.

On the 8th June, the Shogun had an audience of the Mikado to take leave; after which he started on the 10th. He got from Fushimi to the castle at Osaka by boat, and remained there till the 20th, when he embarked on board a steamer, and loosening his cable from the mouth of the river, set sail. On the 23rd he arrived at Yedo, to the great joy of all the officials, both great and small who were glad to think that, by the aid of the Shimadzu family, the Tokugawa family had been reinstated, and their happiness was shared by the town, down to the very lowest classes.

<sup>(47)</sup>The Shosho of Shimadzu, Osumi no Kami, had returned to his territories before the departure of the Shogun, while Hitotsubashi dono and Echizen Saisho

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\* *Kij, Mito and Owari.*

remained at Kioto. Sakai Uta no Kami of Himeji accompanied the Shogun to Yedo.

<sup>(48)</sup>Now the direction of the national policy having been confided to the Shogun by the Mikado as heretofore, many of the patriots, who had exerted themselves in the service of the state, and had gradually made the authority of the Mikado to be respected, began to be afraid that the same effete and slothful policy would be adopted as heretofore, and grieved to think that the Empire should fall back into its previous degenerate condition. Choshu also had sent in many humble petitions, but none of them were attended to. To aggravate the matter, the direction of the national policy was now entrusted to the Bakufu, to the great indignation of the patriots who had previously collected together in Choshu. The two provinces of Nagato and Suwo began to get highly excited, and it was soon reported at Kioto and Osaka that the assembled ronins of Nagato and Suwo would shortly call upon Nagato no Kami and the seven nobles to take command of them and lead them to Kioto. When this rumour became commonly known, men's minds became ill at ease, and all felt as if they were walking on a sheet of thin ice.

<sup>(49)</sup>In the spring of this year Aizu Chiujo had resigned the office of military governor of Kioto, but when the state of affairs became again unquiet he resumed his former functions. It was reported to him that some Choshu men and ronins were living in an inn kept by a certain Ikedaya Sobci, in the Sanjo street on the west of the bridge, and that they were planning a secret conspiracy. So on the 8th July the men of the military



governor, of the Shogun's resident and of the civil governor, together with the ronins of the Shin-sen-gumi, to the number of about seventy or eighty, clad in chain-armour and armed with naked spears and swords, forced an entrance into Ikedaya,\* and suddenly appearing at the top of the stairs, set upon the ronins who were indulging in a feast. The latter, being taken thus unawares, had scarcely time to draw their swords and defend themselves, and had to repel the attack with whatever they could lay their hands on. The attacking party, however, were numerous, and had the advantage of having made up their minds beforehand, so that when the leader of the ronins, Miyabé Teizo, had fallen, they lost their heads, and some escaped by fleeing over the roofs of the adjacent houses, while others were taken prisoners. Some of them, namely Matsuda Jiuské of Higo, Motoyama Shichiro, Matsuwo Konoshin, Shoyama Yasaku, Yoshida Nen-marô and Okada Hankichi, were killed on the spot. Ando Seinoské, Osawa Itsuhei, Matsuyama Riozo and a few others, who were present on the occasion, escaped the peril and fled. The rest, Onaka Shiuzen of Yamato, Sawai Tatewaki of the same province, Mori Kazuyé, retainer of Honami dono, Kimura Shingoro of Choshu, Miyafuji Mondo of Iwami and now retainer of Itsutsuji dono, Uchiyama Taroyemon of Choshu, Sato Ichiro and Yamada Toranoské of the same clan, with some townspeople, to the number of twenty-five, were taken prison-

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\* Ikedaya means Ikeda House. Japanese merchants use as their surnames the names of their shops. Ya means house, as we say Waterloo House etc; after the Restoration the merchants have had leave to use ordinary surnames like the Samurai.

ers, and conveyed to the office of the Civil Governor, where they were put in close confinement. A man named Kodaka Shintaro, alias Yorodzuya Kiyemon, living at the Shijo little bridge, suspected of being one of the band, because he had a quantity of arms and ammunition in his possession, was also arrested and conveyed to the same prison.

<sup>(50)</sup>On the night of the 19th of July, Hiraoka Danshiro and Okada Shintaro, attached by the Bakufu to Hitotsu-bashi dono, were murdered, on the ground of being traitors, by Hayashi Chiujiro and Ebata Sadashichiro of the Mito clan, in front of the Sanjo Yashiki occupied by Hitotsubashi, as they were returning to it in palanquins. The murderers disembowelled themselves and died immediately after. From this time on men's minds began to become uncontrollable and a passion for murder seemed to take complete possession of them. Society became gradually more and more agitated, so that there was every apprehension that some dreadful event was close at hand. And no man felt at ease, but great fear was upon all.

<sup>(51)</sup>To turn again to Choshu. After the disturbance at Kyoto in the month of September of the previous year, the seven nobles had betaken themselves thither, and the runaways and deserters from every province gradually collected together under the designation of *Kihcитай*.\* These fellows concerted with the Samurai of the other clans how they might prove that the Saisho and his son and the seven nobles were innocent of the crimes falsely laid to their charge, and assist them in carrying out their

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\* That is the Band of Irregulars.

disinterested and patriotic designs. Numerous petitions were addressed to the Heavenly Court, but the clouds which floated in the air had not yet cleared away, and still continued to obscure the blue sky. They had alternation of lamentation and wrath, until at last their indignation became so strong, that there was nothing left but to go up to Kioto with a display of military force, sweep away the traitor and the wicked man from the Sovereign's side, and force the Heavenly Court to listen to their petitions. Full of impetuous feelings and boiling indignation, Hama Chiutaro (a Shinto priest of Sui-ten-gu in Kurumé, known as Maki Idzumi no Kami), Kuzaka Giské (also called Matsuno Sampei), Raijima<sup>o</sup> Matabei (known as Mori Kitaro) Terajima Chiuzaburo (called Ushiku Shunzabro), Iriye Kuichi (alias Kawajima Kotaro), and a runaway of Chikuzen called Nakamura Yenta, choosing a *Karo* Fukuwara Echigo as chief, and gathering together a body of 400 men in all,† resolute men every one of them, set sail from the port of Mitajiri in Suwô on the morning of the 22nd July. They were clad in complete armour and had put a quantity of cannon and small arms on board; and their appearance was noble and determined.

On the 24th they arrived at the port of Osaka, and took up their quarters temporarily at the *yashiki* of the clan near the Tokiwa bridge. On the morning of the 26th, before it was yet light, the *Kiheitai* left Osaka in

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[<sup>o</sup> Kishima]

† This band consisted of a number of Choshiu men and of the *Kiheitai* composed of ronins from Kurume, Tosa, Higo, Utsunomiya, Echigo, Zeze, Tsuyama, Tajima, Tsushima, Hirado and other clans, with the remains of the fugitives from Yamato.

boats and ascended the Yodogawa. They bore the appearance of troops about to enter on a campaign, and waving red and white flags from the boat, got up as far as Yamazaki. Here they landed, and mounting the hill called Tempozan, took up their quarters in the Takaradera. At this spot (i. e. at Yamazaki) a barrier had been erected by Matsudaira Kai no Kami of Koriyama in Yamato, under the orders of the Government, which was guarded by a number of his troops. The news was therefore immediately reported to Kioto by him.

<sup>53)</sup>Fukuwara Echigo, at the head of a large body of his fellow-clansman, started the same day by land for Fushimi. At the Hashimoto\* watchhouse, Matsudaira Hoki no Kami, the Lord of the castle of Miyadzu in Tango, had constructed a barrier, and was guarding it vigilantly with his troops. The Choshiiu clansmen explained that they were going to the capital, and were allowed to pass through. They arrived that evening in Fushimi, and took up their quarters at the Choshiiu *yashiki* near the Kiobashi (bridge). They then sent a message to Hayashi Higo no Kami, the Governor of the place, to say that they were going to the capital, and that having some business to arrange with the Kioto *yashiki* first, would like to stop in Fushimi two or three days.

The governor was in a great state of alarm, when he considered the numbers of the Choshiiu men and their warlike appearance, and decided that every precaution

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\* On the left bank of the river, opposite Yamazaki, some twenty miles from Osaka.

was necessary. When he received information that the Choshu men had gradually arrived at Yamazaki by the river, and had landed there, he entirely lost his head, and expecting that some fearful affair was going to take place before his eyes, got together with all speed a number of Samurai, and put himself in as strong a posture of defence as his means permitted. He then rushed up to Kioto on a sweating horse, hardly stopping to take breath, in order to communicate the information.

<sup>(54)</sup>The townspeople of Fushimi were dreadfully frightened, and ran about far and wide to hide themselves. Some carried off their furniture and valuables, while from the neighbouring village their friends came in to see what was the matter; so that the town was in a pretty condition of tumult and excitement. The same panic occurred at Yamazaki, but as the Choshu clansmen behaved very quietly, and committed no acts of violence, the people began to feel in a slight degree more tranquil.

At Kioto, however, when the reports arrived from Fushimi and Yamasaki, Hitotsubashi dono, the Military Governor the Supreme Administrator of Affairs, the *Kakurô*, the Shogun's resident, the *Metsuké*, the Civil Governors and the Warriors-in-waiting were exceedingly alarmed, and assembled together in haste at the Sanjo-Yashiki occupied by Hitotsubashi dono, to take counsel together. Hitotsubashi immediately proceeded to the Palace, and informed His Majesty of what had occurred. Thereupon the In no Miya, the Kuambaku, Giso, Tenso and other nobles assembled together in fright and *astonishment*. The affair came upon them so suddenly

that they were as if stupified, and the Imperial Court could not make up its mind what to do. Various propositions were made, but it was evidently of the first importance to secure the Nine Gates and the town outside by stationing guards in an efficient manner, and to reinforce the detachments at the entrances to the city. Orders were issued to the clans, who complied with alacrity, turning out large bodies of troops and taking charge of the several posts entrusted to their care. A large force was placed under the command of Makida Sagami no Kami and Matsudaira Idzumo no Kami, to patrol the city, and it paraded the streets vigilantly day and night. The Princes and nobles sent their women and old people to their country houses in the neighbouring villages, or despatched them to their domains; so that the panic in Kioto was even greater than that at Fushimi or Yamazaki. Sick or lame people were sent to friends in the neighbouring hamlets, furniture and valuables were carried off to the four quarters of the compass, and the bustle and confusion were just like what are seen at a fire.

(55) The Choshu *kiheitai* who were encamped at Yamazaki now sent again to repeat the humble petitions hitherto presented on several occasions by the Mori family. They said further, that in consequence of the decree for the expulsion of the barbarians issued some years previously by the Mikado, they had made known that great principle to the whole country; the military spirit had been gradually aroused, and they had given their assistance with the sole desire of obeying and respecting the imperial wishes. The visit of the Mikado

to Kamo in the previous year had been made in order to pray for success in the subjugation of the barbarians. But His Majesty's feelings had changed in the most unaccountable manner, and they had been removed from the guardianship of the palace, entirely through the lies and slanders of one morning. The clansmen had been forbidden to enter the capital, and the seven nobles had incurred His Majesty's displeasure. That unable to restrain their grief and sorrow, in their position as subjects, they had absconded from their native country, and had come up to Kioto, to present a humble petition; to ask that the seven nobles and the Saisho and his son might be exonerated from the imputations so unjustly cast upon them. That hoping His Majesty would announce that he had renewed his determination of expelling the barbarians, the clansmen and the servants of the seven nobles had ventured to come and make their tearful prayer. That as they were a large body of men, the leaders would do their best to keep them quiet, and that they would certainly not proceed to acts of violence.

This petition was addressed to the *Sanké*,\* to the Princes of Echizen, Awa, Chikuzen, Hizen, Yonezawa, Matsuyama, Nambu, Geishiu, Tsushima and Fukuyama, by the Agent at Kioto (*rusui*), and was the subject of a council of the Court and the Military class. The decision arrived at was that the conduct of the Choshu clan in exciting the ronins of the provinces to rebellion, in approaching the capital with a display of military force, in intimidating the Imperial Palace and making arrogant demands on the Mikado, was incomprehensible. Should

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\* Kishiu, Owari and Mito.

His Majesty grant their prayer, the dignity of both the Court and the Bakufu would suffer, and both would be exposed to new insults. It was necessary therefore that these men should be chastised. Aidzu Chiujo, in his capacity of Guardian of the capital, was for castigating them without mercy, and the hereditary vassals and officials of the Shogun also maintained that they ought to be chastised.

The discussion having ended in this way, warlike preparations were diligently proceeded with. The nobles of the Court and all the clansmen then in Kioto warned the Court and the Bakufu, that if they proceeded to hostilities against the Choshu clansmen who had come to Kioto with the spirit of leopards and wolves, the empire would be immediately ruined, and the imperial palace would be placed in great peril; and they suggested that it would be better to accord a patient hearing to the petition of these people, and treat them with pity and kindness.

But the Mikado would not adopt their views, and did not even deign an answer. The Choshu clansmen who were at Kioto in the Kawara machi *yashiki*, fearing to remain longer in the city, left it secretly, and betook themselves to the temple of Tenriuji at Saga, whence they communicated with Yamazaki and Fushimi, and prepared to renew their prayers and petitions.

(53) On the 30th July Mori Onitaro the captain of the Choshu Yu-geki-tai \* encamped on Ten-no-zan at Yamazaki (his real name was Kijima Matabei) proceeded

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\* Literally, the Band which amuses itself with beating [or attacks suddenly].



to Fushimi to consult with Fukuwara Echigo. He was anxious that the clansmen encamped at Tenriuji should not attempt any violence, for that would be an offence against the Imperial Court. In order therefore to keep them in order, he started from Fushimi at the head of the whole band of three hundred and forty or fifty men. The matches of their muskets were lighted, the flags and banner waving, and the drums and gongs were beaten. With his men thus marshalled in companies and subdivisions he proceeded from the highroad, up the Toba road; from Shichijo he passed through Katsura Mura, and visiting the Shrine of Matsuo on the way, proceeded to Saga, where he took up his quarters in Tenriuji.

<sup>(57)</sup>When it became known in Kioto that a considerable number of Choshiu men had left Fushimi that morning in battle array and had taken up their quarters at the Tenriuji at Saga, the Nine Gates of the Palace were instantly shut. Aidzu Chiujo, putting on his armour, immediately started from the Kuroda barracks at the head of six or seven hundred men in battle array, and marched to the Palace with flags and banners flying, beating drums and gongs, with swords and spears, with loaded fieldpieces and small-arms. From the west there hastened to the Palace the Shogun's resident, Matsudaira Etchui no Kami, and the *kakuro* Inaba Nagato no Kami, mounted on horseback and equipped for battle, leading a considerable force of men in complete armour, to undertake the defence.

<sup>(58)</sup>At five o'clock in the evening, Hitotsubashi Chiu-nagon, in *neshimé* and hempen *kamishimo* proceeded to the Court on horseback, with his attendants in ordinary

dress Cannon and small arms, provisions and lanterns, were conveyed with rapidity to the Palace, in large quantities; and as darkness approached bonfires were lighted here and there in the palace yard, while all night long a crowd of soldiers kept continual watch and ward inside and outside the Nine Gates; and everything looked as if hostilities were to break out immediately.

The inhabitants of the city, both gentle and simple, trembled and quaked. Their energies quite deserted them and their faces became of an earthy hue, and all remained in such a state of anxiety that they scarcely were conscious of their own existence. But nothing in the way of a disturbance occurred that night, and dawn soon came, for it was the summer season. The troops who were guarding the palace broke up their array, and officers and men marched away. Then for the first time the people began to be relieved to a certain degree of their anxiety, and to rejoice over their regained existence.

(50) After this the Nine Gates were locked, and no one was suffered to go in or out without permission, and the wicket gate was made the general thoroughfare. Aidzu Chiujo never left the Palace, and made the Emperor's flower-garden his head quarters. Here his forces were collected during several days, guarding the Sacred Precincts day and night, until after the riot was over.

Orders were sent posthaste from the Court to the Daimios of the surrounding provinces, informing them that a large number of the Choshu clan had come to Kyoto in battle array, and that it was reasonable to look for some disturbance or other. That they must therefore at once turn out their men. This order was obeyed and

the troops were sent up to the capital. Kato Etchiu no Kami, lord of the castle of Minakuchi in Omi, and Kuchiki Omi no Kami, lord of the castle of Fukuchiyama in Tamba, came in person at the head of their men. The clansmen who were resident at the capital sent frequent messages to their homes, and the city and suburbs were turned upside down. At the same time beacon-fires were lighted on the top of Arashiyama at Saga and on the Tennozan at Yamazaki every night after sunset, and as the flames were visible everywhere throughout the surrounding country, all men feared without ceasing.

<sup>(9)</sup>On the 3rd August the Mikado summoned Hitotsubashi dono to his presence, who immediately proceeded to the Palace in response to the call. His Majesty said, that in view of the disturbed condition of things round the imperial palace, he intended to put full powers in to his hands, as chief Guardian of his person. Hitotsubashi dono undertook to do all in his power to relieve the anxiety felt by His Majesty. He then despatched two *ometsuke*, Nagai Mondo no Kami and Togawa Hanzaburo, to the Choshu *Yashiki* at Fushimi, to say that as they had come up professing to be bearers of a petition, their presenting themselves with arms in their hands was a noisy proceeding. Choshu was understood to be particularly devoted to the service of the Sovereign, and such behaviour was quite irreconcilable with the sentiments he was supposed to entertain. That they must at once send back to their country the fellows who had advanced on Tenriuji, while Fukuwara Echigo might remain at Fushimi with a small number of

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[<sup>o</sup> The three words "to his presence" to be cancelled.]

men, send the petition quietly through the proper hands, and wait respectfully for the Emperor's orders. Fukuwara professed his readiness to obey, but said that he could not give any certain answer until he had communicated with Saga and Yamazaki.

On the following day, therefore, he sent the message to both these places, but as the men refused to agree, Fukuwara was obliged to give the following answer to the two *ônetsuke*; that on the 30th July, the people at the *Yashiki* in Kioto had sent in a humble petition, and had then retired to the Tenriuji at Saga, where a large number of them were now encamped. On receiving this information from the *rusui*, he had sent Mori Onitaro with a force to keep the others in order, and he was informed that the Palace and the rest of the town had been thrown into a great state of perturbation on account of some story about the manner of their march. This had caused him much anxiety, for as entrance into the capital was denied them, there was every desire on his part to abide by that order, and certainly not to proceed to any violent or lawless acts. With respect to the manner of the march mentioned, the population of his native country liked to be always ready for battle, ever since the expulsion of the barbarians from those parts in the previous summer, and were accustomed always to be provided with weapons of war and other fighting requirements. That though the journey was made in the height of the hot season, they had not even taken with them the articles they wanted for changing their clothes. Mori had marshalled the men in companies and subdivisions all the way from Fushimi to Saga, and

had carried flags and drums, for no other reason than that a large number of ruffians were known to be lurking of late in and about the capital; and besides, these were times when every man was expected by the Mikado to wear his armour and defend himself with sword and spear. As they were passing outside the town on important business of His Majesty, they had made their preparations so as not to be taken unawares, and there was not the slightest occasion for all this excitement about the venerated palace. He feared that this might have arisen from a misunderstanding of the account of their proceedings. The reason of such a number of men being stationed at Saga, was that Tenriuji was far from Yamazaki and close to the Palace; that although they were a large number, yet if they refused to obey orders they might give His Majesty trouble, a consummation which he desired to prevent. With the wish not to intrude too near the Sacred Precincts he had thought of withdrawing them; but he was afraid that any attempts to put too much restraint on them might be the cause of even greater excitement among them. Tenriuji had been rented as a lodging for the Saisho and his son in case they should have any affairs which called them to the capital; that it was the same to them as their own *Yashiki*; that he thought it would never do to let them wander about in places to which no ties attached them, exciting uneasiness in the popular mind; that they had better be left where they were, and he would order the officers and men who had gone thither to keep them in order, to remain there, and to spare no effort restrain their passions.

<sup>(61)</sup>At this juncture two *karo* of Choshu named Kokushi<sup>o</sup> Shinano and Soné Takebei with the *metsuke* Naito Seibei and Shigetomé Sakujuro suddenly arrived in great haste at the head of two hundred men, and took up their quarters in the Tenriuji at Saga. They had been despatched at a moment's notice by the Saisho and his son, who were extremely anxious lest violent and boisterous acts should be committed in the vicinity of the Sacred Precincts by the men who had preceded them to the capital, and they had orders to do their best to restrain the impetuosity of the others. This was how they came to the capital and encamped at Tenriuji.

When the act was reported by the Kioto *rusui* Nomi Oriyé and Hojo Sehei, the Civil and Military\* authorities held counsel daily, and there was continual running backwards and forwards between the Palace and the Castle.

<sup>(62)</sup>The nobles of the Court and the Daimios, profoundly anxious that no disturbance should occur near the throne, made repeated remonstrances with the Mikado, and begged him to settle the question with his usual clemency; but as he utterly refused to listen to them, the Choshu men refused to quit the neighbourhood, to the great disquietude of the townspeople, who felt as if they were walking on a sheet of thin ice.

<sup>(63)</sup>On the night of August 12th about five o'clock in the evening, as a man named Sakuma Shuri of the Matsushiro clan in Shinano was passing on horseback

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[<sup>o</sup> Kunishi.]

\* The Court and the Shogun's officials.

along the Kiyacho, a little above the Sanjo street, back to his lodgings, a couple of men having the appearance of ronins coming from the opposite direction, suddenly cut him down from his horse and killed him. They then fled, without leaving any traces behind them. The same night a placard appeared on the end of the Sanjo bridge, to the following effect: "This individual in the beginning "professed western learning and advocated foreign trade "and the opening of the ports. He obtained access "to important personages and violated the national "constitutions. He has conspired with Aidzu and "Nakagawa no Miya to remove the Throne to Yedo, "which treasonable plot shows him to be a traitor "whom heaven and earth cannot tolerate; he therefore "is punished by heaven." The talk of the streets was that as a great number of the ronins attached to the Choshiu clansmen were at this moment collected at Saga and Yamazaki, this was no doubt a deed of theirs.

<sup>(64)</sup>The Saisho of Choshiu and his son had already sent up the *Karo* Kokushi Shinano to Kioto to restrain the impetuosity of their men, but still feeling anxious they now despatched the *Karo* Masuda Uyemon no Ské after him at the head of a considerable body of troops to the capital, to assist in keeping the others in order. Masuda arrived at Yamazaki on the 15th August, and took up his quarters at Tennozan.

<sup>(65)</sup>When the civil and military authorities heard of this, the In no Miya with Aidzu Chiujo and the Kunto officials were full of wrath and indignation, and memorialized the Mikado to order their chastisement; but Arisugawa no Miya, Ichijo dono, Oimikado dono,

Kuga dono, Nakayama dono, Niwata dono, Hino dono and more than seventy other *Kugé* sent in a remonstrance to the Mikado, signed by them all, praying him in the most urgent manner to deal with the matter in a spirit of clemency, to rescue the people from their misery, and thus to obtain peace of mind for himself. The men of the different clans sent in a like memorial, and the counsels of the Court, divided between the two courses of action, were like the bubbling up of a boiling cauldron.

The In no Miya and Aidzu Chiujo, however, would listen to no protestations, and maintained with great insolence that if the Imperial Court quaked at the intimidation sought to be produced by the Choshu clansmen with their arms, the dignity of the Mikado would fall to the ground never to be restored again, and that these traitorous fellows must be certainly be chastised.

Those who disliked the proceedings of Choshu naturally sided with them, and at last the Court decided that the Choshu men must be castigated. Every one looked up to heaven and wept, believing that if once hostilities were commenced, the whole country would be plunged into disorder, without the slightest prospect of tranquillity being restored at any future time.

<sup>(66)</sup>On the 19th August a notification was published to the Choshu men assembled at Saga and Yamazaki. It ran as follows :—

*19th August 1864.*

“In spite of the Choshu clansmen declaring that



“they have come to present a petition, it is evident, from  
“their numbers and the arms they carry, that they are  
“bent on creating disorder. They were told to with-  
“draw, leaving Fukuwara Echigo at Fushimi, with a  
“small body of men, to present the petition they bear  
“in a quiet and orderly manner through the proper  
“channel, and await further orders. In spite of this  
“order, which was communicated to them from the  
“Imperial Court, they have shown no signs of repent-  
“ance. Kokushi Shinano and Masuda Uyemon no ské,  
“under the pretence of keeping the others in order,  
“have followed them hither, accompanied by increasing  
“numbers of men. They maintain that the decision of  
“the 30th September of last year was not the genuine  
“expression of the Wise Will, and have sent in an  
“imploring petition backed up by threats of war. As  
“this attempt to intimidate the Imperial Court is an  
“offence of the highest magnitude, the Imperial Court  
“has decreed the chastisement of the Choshu clansmen  
“collected in various places. And as it is probable that  
“the two provinces of Nagato and Suwo share in the  
“agitation, they will also be severely chastised. Those  
“individuals who have come up to the capital since the  
“rebellion will be dealt with as they deserve, and if any  
“improper behaviour is manifested in their native coun-  
“try, men will be continuously poured upon them for  
“their chastisement.”

<sup>(67)</sup>As soon as this notification appeared, the clansmen  
in Kioto, seeing that civil war had broken out, quickly  
saddled their horses, drew their spears and swords from  
their sheaths, loaded their field pieces and muskets,

and got everything ready, including provisions. All the young men were full of enthusiasm at the idea of their good luck in getting a chance to win a name for themselves in battle, and waited with impatience for the morrow.

<sup>(68)</sup> When the tumult at Kioto become known at Fushimi, Yamazaki and Saga, the Choshu men and ronins assembled at these three places become immensely excited. "Let us not wait to be chastised with our hands empty: let us rush heroically forth and slay this rabble of traitors," said they. Fukuwara, Masuda and Kokushi, the three old retainers, tried to put down all this tumult, but perceiving that the young men would not listen to them in the least, and that they enthusiastically demanded to be led forth to fight, they resigned themselves to the inevitable necessity. They sent a letter to the princes of Tsuwano, Odawara, Miyadzu, Hamada, Zezé and Minakuchi, who had tried hitherto to convince them in the most friendly manner, to say that their own humble clan, with the ronins and servants of Sanjo dono and the other nobles, had respectfully implored with tears that wrongful accusations might be recalled, the barbarians be expelled, and the country's good be sought. That they had now again come to pray to the Mikado and Shogun because of the enormously critical state of matters, but their petitions had been disregarded. That desperate men, being unable any longer to restrain their indignation, would now proceed to action; that they were involved with the rest and must fight.

The ronins also put forth a document in which they

gave vent to their indignation, saying that the In no Miya and Higo no Kami, by their traitorous plots, had hindered the expulsion of the barbarians from being successful, had violated the principles of the national polity, had slandered the Saisho and his son, Sanjo dono and the rest, had acted in a violent and arbitrary manner, had exiled loyal subjects or killed them, had stirred up the Mibu ronins, had inflicted misery on the merchants; had moreover on the 8th of July surrounded the *yashiki* of the clan, broken into their lodgings, killing and binding a great number of men, and had stolen their clothes and property; had moreover on the 30th of July gone with swords and spears and banners to the Palace, and ridden in their palanquins right up to the Mikado's door, and had without reason closed the gates of the Palace. All of which was because they trembled before the wrath of Heaven, and desired to make use of the Sacred Precincts as a protection for their vile bodies. Such men were traitors whom Heaven and earth could not tolerate. Regardless of the misery which civil war produces, they had deceived the clans and had forced the nobles of the Court to resolve upon the chastisement of themselves. They had further contrived the traitorous scheme of carrying off the Phœnix Car to the land of the robber, and the interests of the people demanded that they should no longer be left unpunished. As it was necessary therefore to punish and remove them, they demanded that the Mikado should at once drive Higo no Kami beyond the Nine Gates and order him to leave the city, and resolutely make known that heaven and

he would punish him. They deeply regretted the necessity of making a disturbance so near to the base of the Chariot,\* but as it was inevitable, they prayed His Majesty would be pleased mercifully to forgive them.

This they sent round to all the clansmen, and the nobles of all classes did all they could to assist them. There was, however, no longer any way of keeping the peace, and so both sides came at last to blows. The crisis had arrived, and the spirit of murder filled and overflowed heaven and earth. It was unavoidably necessary to fire. When the first shot was fired, walls crumbled and the tiles were loosened, and the appellation of Enemy of the Court, which during several centuries had ceased to exist, now came again into being. Many myriads of habitations were destroyed, millions of the people were plunged into a fiery pit, and though it might be called the inevitable course of events, it was none the less a lamentable case.

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\* Synonym for the Mikado's Palace.



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<sup>1)</sup>It was the 19th day of the 7th month, of the first year of Genji (20th August, 1864). Ere the day had yet dawned, and while the Orient was still clouded, a loud roar arose suddenly, the report of cannon re-echoed repeatedly, and the steps of men and horses were faintly heard, though at a great distance. The sound approached gradually, came nearer and nearer, until it seemed as if one could grasp it in the hand. The head which lay on the pillow was raised, and the ear strained itself in the effort to discover the nature of the clamour. As the noise of swift footsteps became louder and louder, I was affrighted to hear the sound of voices crying, "See the marching-forth of his lordship of Choshu," "'Tis a fearsome thing," thought I, and rushed to open the door in my night attire. It was then I beheld the Nakadachiuri street full of spectators. Over their heads appeared banners and streamers, distinctly emblazoned clearly with "Kokushi<sup>o</sup> Shinano Tomosuké of the Cho clan" in bright letters and with the crest of the Mori family. I thought within myself, "Ah! a fearful misfortune has happened," but approached nearer to view the procession. There was no mistake about it; it was the Choshu *karô* Kokushi Shinano, from the Tenriuji at Saga, with his whole force of more than three hundred men; their bodies were defended by

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[<sup>o</sup> Kunishi]

armour, and they were advancing from the west up the Nakadachiuri street, marshalled in companies and subdivisions, towards the Sacred Precincts. The leader Shinano was clad in a suit of armour tied with grass-green silken strings, covered with an undergarment of Yamato brocade; and over this again he wore a surcoat of white gauze, with figures drawn on it in black ink. He bestrode a charger, with a bâton of gold paper in his hand. Before him went flags and banners and two field-pieces, with a company formed of thirty spearmen. Companies of forty or fifty musketeers preceded and followed him, in closest array, away towards the Nakadachiuri Gate of the Palace.

<sup>(2)</sup>The Gate, at this moment, was in the charge of Kuroda, the Prince of Chikuzen. His men guarded it vigilantly, closing the doors, and waited, swallowing their spittle, expecting an attack from this quarter. Fearing what might come of it, I followed the rear of Choshu force as far as the Muromachi street, and there beheld the Hitotsubashi Regiment of musketeers coming up in close array from the south end of the street. I thought something would have happened, but the Choshu men quickly closed up to the north side of Nakadachiuri street, and left half the road vacant. The Hitotsubashi troops passed along the south side, brushing the flanks of the Choshu men, right up to the front of the Nakadachiuri Gate, where they esconced themselves behind bamboo mantlets, and spreading out their line poured a continuous fire of musketry on the Choshu force.

<sup>(3)</sup>At this moment the general of the Choshu clan, Kokushi Shinano, was seated at the door of a druggist's

shop on the north side of the street between Muromachi and Karasumaru. He had taken off his helmet and given it to a soldier to hold, and seemed to be looking at the fight which the advanced guard was keeping up at the Hamaguri gate.\* Apparently taken by surprise at the sound of the firearms discharged by the Hitotsubashi force, he again bestrode his horse, and directed the movements of the soldiers.

The Choshu force had for a moment begun to fall into disorder, but they closed up their ranks again and dashed vigorously right at the centre of the Hitotsubashi line, which, seeing the enemy advance to close quarters, broke and fled. The Choshu men followed them up hotly, cutting them down on all sides. Some threw away their muskets and they began to flee southwards down Karasumaru street. The Choshu men, who were determined not to let them escape, kept up a dropping fire on them and they fled in all directions, without making a stand.

<sup>(4)</sup>At this moment the Hamaguri gate division seemed to be in the thick of a warm engagement, and the discharge of firearms made a tremendous din. Kokushi's men, abandoning the Nakadachiuri gate, pressed up to the Hamaguri gate, driving the Hitotsubashi division before them. This gate was defended by the Aizu men, who were determined to die before they would suffer it to be taken by the Mori. Onitaro of the Choshu clan rushed up to attack this force, broke through the Aizu line, and entered the Palace enclosure without difficulty, where a bloody fight ensued.

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\* This gate is between the Nakadachiuri and Shimodachiuri Gates.

<sup>(5)</sup>Just then the Choshu men perceived Nomura Kan-gohei and Uchida Nakanoské, two *ikusa-metsuké* of Satsuma, came riding up Karasumaru street from the south, and taking them for enemies, fired on them. The latter drew their swords with a shout of defiance, and cut right into the middle of their assailants, without wavering in the least; and attacked them. Uchida, without much difficulty, cut his way through and retreated to the north, but Nomura being surrounded by numbers, was unable to escape, and was killed. His head was cut off and placed on the top of a kerbstone on front of Kawabata Doki's, close in front of the Hamaguri Gate.

<sup>(6)</sup>Upon this a body of two hundred Satsuma men, carrying banners with the legends First Akuné Regiment, Yugegi Regiment, and Gamo Army, under the leadership of Niré Gennojo and Matsukata Seizayemon, came at the double quick from the northern end of Karasumaru street\*. Kokushi's rear was still in at the corner of Karasumaru street, at Nakadachiuri, and did not know how the fight had gone in the front. When the Satsuma troops came down upon them waiting there, and fired their muskets right and left at them, they turned round to meet the attack. The Sambo† Katsura Kogoro‡ and Sakuma Sahioye, shouted to their men, "The enemy has risen "up in our rear, look out," and forming the line the other way, ordered them to fire a volley. The Hitotsubashi force, which had just fled in disorder, took

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\* The Satsuma Yashiki is on the north side of the Palace.

† *Sambô* means "assistant strategist" [or staff].

‡ Afterwards known as Kido Junichiro, a Sanga or member of the Council of State of the Mikado.



advantage of this movement to come to life again, and the Choshu men now found themselves attacked in front and rear. Their spirit became roused and they discharged their weapons, the hand to hand musketry combat lasting a considerable while. Both sides fired till the bullets fell as thick as raindrops, and the spears crossing each other looked like a hedge of bamboo-grass.

(7) In the midst of it all, Uchida Yasaburo, a runaway from Higo, darted out of the Choshu line, carrying a long ashen pole covered with iron nails, and shouting his war cry, rushed at the enemy, cutting them down on every side. In one moment he had levelled four or five of the Hitotsubashi men to the earth, when the Satsuma troops, seeing that they were wavering from the effects, suddenly poured an unexpected fire right into the centre of the Choshu force, who were scattered to the four winds at once. One division retreated westwards by the Nakadachiuri Street and another escaped to the south by the Karasumaru Street, followed up by the Satsuma troops, who fired rockets at them, the noise of which was like hundreds and thousands of thunderbolts falling, and re-echoed far away among the hills. Wherever the muzzles of their barrels were pointed, right up to the canal, stones and dust flew about, and smoke filled the air for several hundred yards, so that the forms of objects were scarcely to be distinguished. Satsuma recklessly kept up a continuous fire, and fourteen or fifteen Choshu men were knocked over by it on the spot, besides an unknown number who were wounded. All fled and not a single Choshu man was to be seen in the place.

<sup>(8)</sup>I had fled into the house of a citizen in Karasumaru Street, at Nakadachiuri, from which I had been unable up to this moment to find exit. From what I had seen of the fight with my own eyes, I fancied that even the combats of the Field of °Shura could not have been so fierce. I had been lying concealed, fearing, if I ventured to go and run away, to be hit by a stray bullet and lose my life. A road to safety was now opened to me for the first time, and breaking down the fence at the back of the house, I got into Muromachi street, and managed to find my way back to my own humble cottage. I sent my wife and children a long way off, for it was dangerous to leave them where they were, and I was preparing to flee also with a collection of the most necessary articles, when the roar of guns became more frequent and louder than ever, and I heard two or three cannon fired. Suddenly the heavens and earth shook and trembled, and the noise was loud enough to burst in one's ears and knock down the window-slides and doors. At the same moment black smoke arose from two places away on the southeast (one was Takadzukasa dono's palace, the other the Choshu *Yashiki*), right to the clouds, darkening the heavens, and fierce flames rose up as if the whole universe was on fire; the battlecries of the combatants, and the lamentations and cries of the townspeople were mingled together and reechoed in the valleys. On issuing forth into the street, I found people of all classes, ages, and of both sexes in a fearful state of fright. They were carrying off their various property,

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[°One of the fantastical hells of the Buddhists, filled with fighting and slaughter.]

and running about wildly to all points of the compass. The soldiery too, brandishing swords and spears, rushed hither and thither without ceasing. Here and there were samurai fighting desperately, and the bullets flew about overhead like axletrees.\* There were helmets and cuirasses that had been cast away by their owners, spears, pikes, bows, muskets and military equipments of all kinds lying about in quantities. Some of the townspeople had fled, throwing down their property in the street on the way. Lying prostrate here and there were men who had fallen down wounded, and the roads were full of headless corpses. It was a sight which revolted the eyes. Stealing myself to these things, I got through them, and with great difficulty at last escaped from the town, and fled as far as Funaokayama.

<sup>(9)</sup>To return to our subject The Choshu troops left their country in the middle of the previous month, and arrived in the vicinity of the capital; and as they had already been prohibited from entering Kyoto, the Karo Fukuwara Echigo stopped at the *yashiki* at Fushimi, Masuda Uyemon no Ské took up his quarters at the Takaradera at Yamazaki, and Kokushi<sup>o</sup> Shinano encamped in the Tenriuji at Saga, all three with the object of watching the proceedings of their *Samurai*. They constantly implored the Mikado with their prayers, but His Majesty took not the slightest notice of them; and he had further issued an order for their castigation. They were animated by a profound feeling of resentment at the conduct of Aidzu Chiujo, and in the violence of their

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\* Expression often used of showers of rain, as 'rain like axletrees,' *i. e.* coming down in streams. [c Kunishi]

indignation they declared they would attack him before he could move against them, and take his head.

<sup>(10)</sup>Now Aidzu Chiujo, in his quality of Protector of Kioto, had been encamped in the Mikado's Flower Garden ever since the 25th July, and had taken on himself the guardianship of the Imperial dwelling. The Choshu men, aware that Higo no Kami was inside the Nine Gates, could stand it no longer and clamoured to be led against the Garden, in spite of their reverence for the Mikado; their object being to force their way in, and trample Higo no Kami to death, in case he should not come forth of his own accord. As it seemed quite impossible to restrain their zeal, the three leaders Fukuwara, Masuda and Kokushi gave up the attempt as hopeless, and after the necessary communications had passed between Fushimi, Yamazaki and Saga, it was decided that Aidzu Chiujo should be chastised.

Arrangements were therefore made to start from these three places at daylight on the 20th August and to march against the Nine Gates in three divisions, and surround the Flower Garden. The force encamped at Tenriuji, numbering some nine hundred men and odd, started from their quarters at Saga about midnight, under the leadership of Kokushi Shinano, Kishima Matabei (also called Mori Onitaro) and Kodama Komimbu, and marched on Kioto. At Katabira-ga-tsuji they separated into two divisions, Kishima Matabei and Kodama Komimbu advancing rapidly along the streets towards the Shimodachi-uri Gate, while Kokushi Shinano turned to the north in order to advance from the side of the Nakadachiuri Gate. The latter was supported by the

*Sambo* Katsura Kogoro\* and Sakuma Sahioye, the Captain of the 3rd Company Nogi Hachisaburo, with Shishido Kinnoské, Soné Takebei, Yamamoto Saburo, Shigetomé Sakujiuro, Takamatsu Iwanojo, Matsuda Seiyemon, Fujishigé Genzo, Mishima Kanadzuchi and Hirata Kunihiko; and besides these the companies entitled the †Sei-i-tai, Shin-sen-tai, Kongotai, Seidotai, and Shi-yu-tai, to the number of about five hundred men, all advanced against the Nakadachi-uri Gate.

In doing this they had come across the troops of Hitotsubashi defiling into the Palace, and levelled their muskets, determined not to suffer defeat, but to fire on the others and put them to flight.‡ Every man exhibited the greatest intrepidity and provoked the enemy to fight, so that the Hitotsubashi force was broken and routed, and the Choshui men were on the point of forcing their way into the Palace. But a detachment of Satsuma men, some three hundred strong, took them in the flank, and pouring an unexpected fire from their field-pieces on them, sent the Choshui troops flying in disorder to the four points of the compass. At the same [time] the Choshui division which had entered by the Hamaguri Gate was defeated and driven out of the Palace enclosure by the united forces of Satsuma, Aidzu and Kuwana. The loyal forces taking advantage of their victory, then issued forth

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\* Afterwards Kido Junichiro, a Sangi or Counsellor of State to the Mikado.

† That is, the Loyal-feeling Band, the Newly-chosen Band, the Hard-as-metal Band, the Band of the Followers of Right, and the Band of the Bold Citizens.

‡ As seen by the author.

the streets, and seeing the state of affairs, advanced to the attack. Kokushi's men met the enemy at all points, and fought with desperate courage, nerved by the thought that this was the critical moment ; but his soldiers deserted him in considerable numbers, and at last his array was broken. His most trustworthy warriors Hirata Kunihiko, Nogi Hachisaburo, Takahashi Iwanojo, Matsuda Seiyemon, Fujishigé Genzo, Shishido Kinnoské and Mishima Kanadzuchi, each of whom was as good as a thousand, were either killed on the spot or wounded severely, and he lost many of his common soldiers also.

The commander Kokushi Sinano, with his *Sambô* Katsura Kogoro and Sakuma Sahiôye, collected the remains of their beaten troops, with the hope of being able to communicate with their comrades, and to concert with them a new and vigorous plan of operations. But he had now become a Rebel against his sovereign, and every man's hand was against him. The other clans would give no help, but on the contrary turned their arms against him. Whilst his own men were thus defeated and scattered to the four winds, he heard also that Fukuwara Echigo, who had marched out from Fushimi, had been cut off on his way, and been defeated. Seeing therefore that there was no longer any hope left, he collected around him a small number of soldiers and fell back on Tenriuji at Saga.

<sup>(11)</sup>Kijima Matabei Masahisa and Kodama Komimbu who, had parted from Kokushi Shinano at Katabiragatsuji, advanced eastwards by the Shimodachiuri street. Amongst the brave warriors attached to this division were Kijima Kamésaburo, Matabei's own son, Kitamura

Kingo, Morishigé Kenzo, Kubo Munizo, Akagawa Niye mon, Takahashi Kumataro, Yugawa Shozo, Akagawa Keizo, Yusa Kambei, Katsura Joské, Kuwabara Kenzo Satomi Jiro a runaway from Kiushiu, Iriye Yachibei c Higo, Osawa Itsuhei and Futami Ichio, numbering with the rest 400 men.

By five o'clock in the morning they had arrived in the immediate vicinity of the Palace, where they divided into two bands, one of which was commanded by Kijim Matabei, and advanced against the Hamaguri gate, while the other, led by Kodama Komimbu, attacked the Shimodachiuri gate. Both detachments raised a loud shout at the same moment, and were upon the point of surprising the Flower Garden. But Hitotsubashi, Aizawa and Kuwana had secretly placed scouts on the Sagami Yamazaki and Fushimi roads, ever since the arrival of the Choshu clansmen in the previous month, and about three A. M. this night the first detachment of scouts had come running back greatly excited, with the report that the enemy's divisions encamped at those three points were making ready to march at dawn.

Upon this Hitotsubashi Chiunagon Yoshinobu Kiô Matsudaira Higo no Kami, Inaba Nagato no Kami Matsudaira Etchui no Kami, Makida Sagami no Kami Matsudaira Idzumo no Kami, Takigawa Harima no Kami Matsudaira Wakasa no Kami, Oguri Shimosa no Kami Kasuya Chikugo no Kami and a host of others hastened to the Palace with their armour braced on, at the head of large bodies of troops well provided with provisions and ammunition. The Aizu troops, which were commanded by Sakamoto Kakubei, Ariga Gonzaemon

Toyama Torinoskè and Ohara Jihachi, were about eight hundred in number. To these were added a body of about two hundred Kuwana men, commanded by Matsudaira Sajiro, so that the whole force of the defenders was about a thousand men.

<sup>(12)</sup>Every moment came further reports to announce that the Choshu men were drawing nearer and nearer to the Palace. The garrison were at once on the alert, and bodies of twenty to thirty marksmen were placed in ambush here and there inside the Palace enclosure from the Shimodachiuri Gate to the Nakadachiuri Gate, where they anxiously awaited the approach of the Choshu men.

The latter in entire ignorance of the preparations made for their reception, advanced close up to the wall, when a volley was suddenly poured into their midst by some twenty or thirty Aizu men, esconced behind the wall of Nakagawa no Miya's residence. Fourteen or fifteen fell dead on the spot, or were severely wounded.

The Choshu men, being thus taken by surprise, fell into disorder, and the rear fell back, while a continuous discharge of some twenty or thirty shots into the midst of those who were in the front, knocked over three or four more of them. The whole body now began to waver, fearing lest the enemy had contrived some cunning stratagem; but the commander Masahisa\* shouted at them, "What need we care for the enemy's stratagems? The Fushimi and Yamazaki divisions have already forced their way in, and I see them on the point of deciding the day. Do not let us be laughed at for being cowards. Force your way! Advance my men!"

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\* That is, Kijima Matabei.



Encouraged by this address, the troops advanced with great spirit, delivering blows and thrusts and cutting at the legs of the enemy, as they climbed the heaps of corpses. The Aidzu clan, on seeing their assailants approach so near, threw away their muskets, and used their swords and spears; but overborne by the ferocious courage of the Choshu men, began to waver. The latter poured in such a vigorous fire upon them that the Aidzu clan was unable to hold its grounds, and fled within the Hamaguri Gate. The Choshu troops, elated by their victory, pursued their foe, who after shutting the gate fired incessantly upon them from the top of the wall, and from every chink and cranny. The Choshu men fired two cannon shot and then rushed right up to the gate; the Aidzu clan suddenly opening it wide, fired a volley, and taking advantage of the effect produced, about a hundred plucky young fellows dashed forth. The Choshu men had now found the foe they longed for, and pressing hard on them, engaged in a hand to hand fight. A man dashed forth from the midst of the Aidzu clan, shouting that his name was Kubota Hanji, the leading spearman, and slew two of the enemy, but fell struck by a bullet fired from the Choshu side. The Aidzu clan, determined not to be defeated at this point, fought desperately to repel the enemy's attack, but hearing that the second detachment under Kodame Komimbu, having made a breach in the south wall, had forced a passage into the Palace, they felt their courage desert them and began to give way. The enemy perceiving their advantage, pressed hard upon them and entered the Gate.

*The detachment under Komimbu, by their irresistible*

*elan*, had made a breach in the wall between the former palace of the ex-Emperor and the houses of the townspeople, and had all entered by it. Right opposite the point where they entered was a guardhouse occupied by the troops of Prince Todo.\* Kubo Munizo ran forward ahead of the rest and announced that the Choshu troops had come to chastise the traitorous brigand Higo no Kami, against whom they had an ancient ground of quarrel. That they had the greatest respect for the Imperial Court, and did not fight against any other than Aidzu, and he begged them to look on without interfering. The Todo clansmen replied that they were placed there to guard the Sacred Precincts, and not for the protection of Higo no Kami; and that if the Choshu men wished to wreak their wrath on him, they were willing not to interfere. So the Todo men retired from the spot and took up their quarters at the Sato-den of Chi-on-in† no Miya.

<sup>(13)</sup>Munizo, on receiving this answer, thanked them, and ran on, following by the Choshu men, each emulous to be first. The Aidzu clan, perceiving that the Choshu men had entered from the south, were all agog to attack them and defend the place, and their Captain Sakamoto Kakubei, exhorted his troops by saying, "Now is the moment to perform the service of a lifetime; repel them my men; stop their way!" Forty or fifty answering at

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\* Todo Daigaku no Kami, of Tsu in Ise.

† Chi-on-in is a temple on the other side of the river; occupied by the British Minister on the occasion of his visit to Kioto in the spring of 1868. A *Sato-den* or *Sato-bo* is a sort of town house, which a Prince living outside the city use on the occasions of his going to Court, to dress in, &c. The Princes of the blood are called Miya.

once to his call, and levelling their weapons, aimed at the Choshu men, and fired right and left at them. The latter, notwithstanding their great valour, found the fire of the enemy too hot for them, and were unable to approach. The commander was wroth, and said, "Will you be stopped by the foe, when you have advanced as far as this, and forced your way inside the gate?" So they also levelled their barrels, and fired by volleys, advancing and retiring, without ceasing. To finish it, the Choshu men fired "bang" with their cannon, but the enemy also discharged their fieldpieces, and they fired at each other till the solid earth resounded to the noise, and the whole neighbourhood was clouded over by the smoke. Both sides lost many killed and wounded in fierce artillery combat, and the balance of victory inclined to neither.

At this moment the Choshu men who had entered by the postern gate in Karasumaru street by the houses of Kuanshiuji dono, Hino dono and Ishiyama dono, came up suddenly from behind. They consisted of Aritomi Shinské, Kodama Kankichi, Nagamatsu Shiuteki, Arikawa Tsunesaburo of the Chofu clan, Kaneko Shiro of the same, and Kawakami Gensai, with others to the numbers of seventy or eighty. These men appeared here and there, and attacked the Aizu and Kuwana forces without giving the slightest notice. The latter were terribly put about,\* and wondered whether these fresh

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\* *Rô-bai-suru*. The *Rô* and *Bai* are two animals one of which is blind and the other has no legs; the blind one carries the other, and so they seek their food. Of course when they are separated by some mishap, they are both much put about.

enemies had dropped from heaven or issued from the earth. Being thus attacked on all sides at once, they had no time either to discharge their firearms, or to draw their swords, and the Choshu men cut them down wherever they came across them. The Aizu and Kuwana men suddenly broke their line, and losing an incalculable number of men, were all put to flight, like a flock of young spiders running in all direction.

<sup>(14)</sup>The Choshu men, taking advantage of the success thus gained, pressed on towards the Emperors Flower Garden, and in the hope of achieving the aspirations they had cherished so long, advanced beating gongs and drums. Hearing that the Chiujo, who was the foe they sought, had some hours previously betaken himself to the Court, they felt that their long fostered hopes were disappointed; but as that could not be helped, they determined to go on to the end, with the expectation of seeing him at last face to face; and driving the enemy before them, they entered the °Gate of the Nobles.

<sup>(15)</sup>Outside the wall of the Palace, underneath a *yé* tree\* on the northwest was a guard house belonging to Mito dono, occupied by a large number of his clansmen; and opposite to the Southern Gate, eastward of it, was a post of the Matsushiro clan. For some reason or other, perhaps because their numbers were so few, neither set of clansmen opposed the Choshu forces, although the fight was going on before their very eyes; but looked on at what was passing without attempting to interfere.

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[°Kuge-mon or Kara-mon.]

\* A common Japanese tree. Hepburn's dictionary gives it the name of *Celtis Wildenawiana*.

(16) The Choshu troops, without casting a look at the others, advanced to the front of the Chinese Gate (commonly called the Gate of the Nobles) and seemed to be on the very point of forcing their way into the Palace. The Aidzu and Kuwana forces, quite unable to withstand them, fled inside the Gate of the Nobles, and the Choshu men hurried forward in their pursuit. Aidzu and Kuwana now became desperate in their efforts to repel the foe, and their situation seemed hopeless, when from the guard at the Northwest Gate came the Satsuma Captain Yoshitoshi Gunkichi, younger brother of Komatsu Tatewaki,\* at the head of more than two hundred men, like a great billow surging onwards. On seeing how matters stood, the Satsuma men discharged several hundred shots into the very midst of the Choshu force, which being unable to endure this flank attack from a strong body of fresh troops, began to waver and break its line. The Satsuma men, seeing their advantage, pressed up close, and a body of musketeers pouring in a dropping fire at the same time from behind, the Choshu ranks were broken, and the men fled in all directions.

The Aidzu and Kuwana forces, gaining strength from this timely assistance, reformed their ranks and opened fire again on the Choshu men, of whom many were killed, while an incalculable number were wounded. On seeing his men thus routed, the Captain Kijima Matabei raised his bâton, and shouted with a great

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\* This officer, a *karo* of Satsuma, of very ancient family, was for some time Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs under the Mikado's Government. He died in the summer of 1870, much regretted by all who knew him.

voice, "Ye °dirty slaves, Choshu men, if now ye escape death, when do ye hope again to renew the fight? What place do ye take this for? This is the inside of the Sacred Precincts! Never are ye fated to return hence alive. Though a thousand warriors be reduced to a single one, retreat not, fellows! Advance! Strike!" So at last the line was reformed with difficulty, and forty or fifty muskets fired volleys. From this moment the artillery combat was renewed for a while, and many were the killed and wounded on both sides, without the issue of the fight being determined.

The Imperial arms were, however, reinforced by the detachments of Yodo\* and Hitotsubashi, and with their strength thus increased they continued the fight. The Choshu men fought with the utmost desperation and energy, at a distance of scarcely forty or fifty yards; but their Captain Kijima Matabei [Masahisa] being hit in the armpit by a bullet from one of the Satsuma guns, which traversed his body, fell down from his horse, unable, brave leader though he was, to resist the effects of such a serious wound. The Imperial forces on this, became enthusiastically brave, and rushed emulously forward to take his head; but Masahisa, though wounded, being mighty in spirit, said "No disgrace can exceed that of letting my head fall into the enemy's hands. Off with it quickly, and depart to the country." As there was no one to cut off his head, Masahisa shouted "Unworthy, useless fellows," and stabbing himself with his own sword, fell

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[°Orig. *kitanaki yatsubara*, or awkward fellows.]

\* Inaba Mino no Kami, a fudai Daimio, whose town is situated on the road from Osaka to Fushimi. He was Shogun's Resident at this period.

by Kasuya Chikugo no Kami, the Warrior-in-waiting. He gave various excuses for his appearance there, but as he had the Choshu mark, namely a piece of white cotton cloth, tied round his leg, these were not found satisfactory. While the colloquy was going on, some Aidzu men came on the ground, and at once attacked him. Takagi, seeing the impossibility of escape, called his intrepid courage to his aid, and defended himself with desperation; but being surrounded by numbers, fell dead at last.

<sup>(20)</sup>The Choshu army being thus defeated, the soldiers fled in confusion; some were killed and others taken prisoners. There was a report also that some men were lying in ambush in the houses of the townspeople, and Hitotsubashi dono therefore gave orders to set fire to any buildings suspected of harbouring them. A shell was in the first place fired into the house of a rich merchant named Kobeniya in Karasumaru street outside of the Hamaguri Gate, which caused a sudden conflagration. Shells were also fired into the residence of Daigo dono\*, and the fierce flames blazed bright and high.

For some months previous to this the heat had been excessive, and the weather had been continuously fine and dry; to add to which a violent wind had been blowing since the morning; and the flames having been kindled moreover in several places, the conflagration burst out everywhere, spreading a devouring fire over the whole face of the city.

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\* A *Kugé*, residing just outside the Nakadachiuri Gate.

(21) The following men of the Aidzu clan were killed in this battle. Nakatsu Tetsunoske, Kubota Hanji, Baba Hachiro, Shimoda Iwataro, Onoda Heidayu, Yamakiwa Kiudayu, Nishimura Kiunoske, Wakabayashi Gempachi, Kusunoki Tonoshin, Akai Jiubei, Sato Seinoske, and a large number of the rank and file. The following individuals received wounds: Iida Gonzaemon, Toyama Torinoske, Ohara Jihachi, Machino Genske, Shiba Tatsunoske, Iigawa Kozen, Ukisu Jimpei, Arakawa Gengoro, Tagaya Katsunoshin, and Rokuro of the same family, Iida Daijiro, Miyake Hachiro, Ono Daiske, Endo Toyonoske, Sato Yeiske, Suzuki Takejiro, Masuda Hachisuke, Kaname Yozo, Chiri Ichinoshin and Sannoske of the same name, Fukuhara Zengoro and others. The Satsuma clan lost in killed, Miyata Hikoji, Matsumoto Yashichiro, Nomura Toshichiro, Nomura Kangobei, and Akai Heinoske, and in wounded Michioka Sobei, Hiraoka Genshiro, Fukunaga Sukezaemon, Dentaro of the same name, Unnami Buyemon, Toya Heizaemon, Ogiwara Shobei, Kawakami Sukehachiro, Inouye Nawonoshin, Fujimoto Genshichiro, Nagayama Yaichiro, Nakamura Matsunoske, Matsuyama Toske, Ebiwara Tameyemon, Fukuwara Kiyemon, Yanase Jirosuke, Kamigawa Gembei, Kumeda Dentaro, Minamida Jiujo, Omawari Tarozaemon, Inazaki Chozo, Kusuda Skezaemon, Hashiguchi Izaemon, Hashi Kichibei, Hamada Totaro, Tsutada Genshichiro, Honda Jirogoro, Hamada Sozaemon, and many of the rank and file besides. Of the Kuwana clan, Ikoma and two or three others were killed. Kato Heizaemon of the company of Yoriki [a sort of Police] was severely wounded by a musket ball, from the effects



of which he died. Of the Yodo clan there fell in the fight a Hotokebara ronin named Ota Uneme.

(22) The previous night, at twelve o'clock, all the *metsuké* both great and small, had come running in a great state of perturbation to Hitotsubashi dono, to inform him breathlessly that the Choshu clansmen had already set forth from Yamazaki with the object of attacking Aizu Chiujo, and that they were advancing on the capital. Although such a proceeding had been expected to take place, Hitotsubashi dono was not less alarmed, when it threatened him thus suddenly. Feeling that it would be a great disaster to let the advanced guard of Choshu once get a footing inside the Sacred Precincts, he immediately donned his official costume, and getting on horseback, whipped at once to the Palace by the Nakadachiuri Gate, to ask after the Emperor. Here he found the In no Miya, His Highness the Kuambaku, the Giso, the Tenso and Ministers of State, and the *Kuge* on duty, with faces of carthen hue, and trembling with fright and confusion.

Hitotsubashi dono read the memorial sent in by Choshu, which had already been opened before he arrived. It said that Higo no Kami was a vile traitor, whom heaven and earth could not tolerate; that the Choshu men desired to wreak on him the vengeance of heaven, and that he ought to be driven out of the capital, there to undergo the punishment of heaven with a good grace. Hitotsubashi then said that the Choshu men were about to advance against the Sacred Precincts, and that their treason was therefore manifest. Such

being the case, nothing remained for the Mikado but to chastise them.

There were some *Kugé* and other inferior courtiers who hated the Chiujo with profound hatred, and who argued that if Higo no Kami were dismissed from his post of protector of the capital (*Shiugoshoku*), and expelled from the city, the Choshu men would no longer any reason to be wrathful with the Imperial Court. The In no Miya and Hitotsubashi dono did not however agree with them. If the Mikado were to pardon Choshu, whose treason was thus clear and manifest, and, frightened at the show of force made by them, were to deprive Higo no Kami of his office, they<sup>o</sup> themselves would no longer be able to maintain their own authority; and they urged on His Majesty the necessity of giving way in the matter, and of granting them permission to inflict chastisement.

This representation was made to His Majesty through the Tenso. Hitotsubashi was called to the foot of the Throne, and the Emperor spoke to him directly, giving him orders to restore tranquillity without loss of time. He received the commission with reverence and withdrew from the Imperial presence.

<sup>(23)</sup> At this moment the report of cannon was heard repeatedly in the direction of Fushimi, as if the Choshu forces were already advancing,\* and there was a great commotion.

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[<sup>o</sup>The Miya and Hitotsubashi.]

\* Note by Author. It was now about three o'clock in the morning; Fukuwara Echigo had got as far as Fukakusa, and was engaged with the Ogaki troops: and the reports heard were those of their cannon.

(24) Hitotsubashi dono, alive to the necessity of taking proper precaution, ran about the Palace himself, giving orders in person for preparations to be made at different points. Reports now followed each other with rapidity, to the effect that a large body of Choshu troops were advancing by the Shimodachiuri and Nakadachiuri. Orders were therefore given by him to shut all the Nine Gates\* fast, and not to let a single person pass through. He then changed his official costume at the residence of Kikutei† dono, and put on his armour.

The clouds in the east were just beginning to be tinged with light, when the forces of the Choshu clan commanded by Kokushi Shinano arrived in front of the Nakadachiuri Gate. Orders were given therefore to the

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\* The Nine Gates, so frequently mentioned throughout this work mark out a space which contains the Palace of the Mikado, the site of the Palace of the retired Mikado, the Imperial Flower Garden, the Grass Garden, together with the residences of most of the *Kuge*. There is no boundary wall; the gates are placed at convenient points in the streets which intersect the mass of buildings, in such a manner that ingress to the Palace can only be obtained through them, or by climbing over the back walls of the *Kuge's* residences. The names of these Gates are the Imadegawa Gate on the north; the Inui or North West Gate, Nakadachiuri Gate, Hamaguri Gate and Shimodachiuri Gate on the west; the Sakaimachi Gate on the south; the Teramachi, Sei-wa-in, and Ishiyakushi Gates on the east.

The Palace is enclosed by a wall of tiles and plaster, painted in longitudinal stripes of buff and white. The outer gates are the *Nammon*, on the south, as the etymology of the word signifies, the *Kuge Mon* and *Midaidokoro Mon* (Gate) on the west; the *Sakuyei Mon* on the north, and the *Hi no Go Mon*, or Sun Gate on the east, all in the outer enceinte. The inner courtyard, to which three Gates give access, contains the *Shi-shun-den*, or Hall of Public Audience. It is entered by the *Fikkuanon* on the east, the *Shōmeimon* on the south, or by the *Gekkuamon* on the west.

† Also called Imadegawa dono, just inside the Nakadachiuri Gate, on the left hand side.

detachments stationed at the various points of defence to be in readiness to fire at a moment's notice. Contrary to the general expectation, however, they turned off from the Nakadachiuri Gate, and reports of musketry were speedily heard in the direction of the Hamaguri Gate. Hitotsubashi dono, feeling that this point required to be vigilantly defended, betook himself thither to see how matters were going on. On arriving there, he found that the combat had already commenced, and that the Aidzu clan were engaged. A simple musketry skirmish was going on, and it seemed as if the question of victory or defeat would take some time to decide. He therefore made a round of inspection from the South Gate, by Arisugawa no Miya's gate and the residence of Konoye dono, and was proceeding in front of the Midaidokoro Gate to the north, when the Aidzu forces began to waver in front of the Gate of the Nobles (Kuge Mon), and being borne back by the foe, were fleeing.

The combat was very hot at this moment, and the bullets flew about in showers; two or three of Hitotsubashi's followers were struck down, and Keiki Kio,\* being frightened, sought safety by retreating within the Midaidokoro Gate. On looking at the state of things within the Palace, he beheld several hundred men rushing about hither and thither, in wild confusion, with naked swords and spears, and it seemed a hopeless task to restore order among them by any means whatsoever. In the Emperor's apartments were a number of *kugé* with their official costume braced up, who with the In

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\* Hitotsubashi.

no Miya and His Highness (the Kuambaku), had come to inquire after His Majesty's safety. Aidzu Chiujo and Kuwana Jijiu were both ill, and had just at that moment managed to appear at the Palace; and they did not seem capable of giving any orders. They remained with the other nobles close by His Majesty, in order to defend his person, while Hitotsubashi dono gave his attention to the fight going on in front of the Emperor's gate, and anxiously looked for indications of victory.

As soon as he heard that the Captain of the Choshu troops had been shot down, and that the foe were in full retreat, he felt that he might be easy about that point of the defence; but reports constantly coming in that the fight was still raging inside and outside of the Sakaimachi Gate and in the residence\* of Takadzukasa dono, he sent reserve after reserve to this point, to drive the enemy away and restore tranquillity at once. Feeling, however, very anxious about it, he proceeded thither in person, accompanied by fifty men from the Military School (*Kobusho*) a hundred and fifty of the *Yûgekitai* and two hundred of the *Shôgitai*, under the command of Takeda Gunji and Sakazumi Hikotaro, a hundred of the Bettôgumi† under Sumiya Toranoské, with Ugai Kichijiuro, Hiko Yônoské, Takada Jiuzô, Matura Sakujiuro, Hara Ichinoshin, Umezawa Magotaro and Asakura Saburoyemon, five hundred men in all. The Chiunagon‡ was mounted on horseback, He wore the

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\* Inside the Sakaimachi Gate to the east.

† The force from which the guards of the Foreign Legations at Yedo were supplied.

‡ Hitotsubashi.

black cap of the warrior bound round his brows with a white fillet, and a war surcoat of green woollen cloth. He was followed by Watanabé Kai no Kami in charge of the artillery, and proceeded in his manner towards the Sakaimachi Gate.

(25) To return to another part of the field:—The Kiheitai had for some time past made Tennôzan at Yamazaki their headquarters, and had agreed with the detachments at Fushimi and Saga, to march forth at the same moment. Already from the evening of the previous day they had been boiling the rice required for their commissariat, and had put their weapons in complete order. Having taken an oath at the shrine of Hachiman\*, they had set out from Yamazaki at little before eleven o'clock at night.

(26) The commanders-in-chief of this division of the Choshu force were Masuda Uyemon no Ské and Shishido Sama no Ské. With a small force of but a hundred men, they had occupied Tennôzan, to see how the battle went with their side, and to wait for the arrival of their chief Nagato no Kami Sadahiro on the scene of hostilities.

(27) Now the captains of the force which marched out to battle on the morning of this day were Matsuno Sampei (Kuzaka Gisuké was his real name), Kawajima Kotaro (Iriyé Kuichi), Ushiku Shunzaburo (Terashima Chiuzaburo), Awoki Yasaburo (a runaway from Tsushima) and Shinagawa Yajiro. The low-class<sup>o</sup> *Samurai*†

\* The god of war, also called Yawata or Yahata.

† The 'low-class' *Samurai* represent the Red Republicans in France, and the Radical 'working-men' in England; a class which has everything to gain and nothing to lose by a revolution. [° Orig. *sômô* (or *rônin*) means, a *samurai*, or two-sworded man, who belongs not to a clan.]

were commanded by Hama Chutaro (his real name was Maki Idzumi no Kami, a *shinto* priest of the Sui-ten-gu shrine at Kurume), Matsuyama Shinzo (a runaway from the Tosa clan and Hara Rokuda (a runaway from Kurume.) Such were the ringleaders.

<sup>(28)</sup>The whole force amounted to more than five hundred men, amongst whom the most prominent were the following Samurai:—Nasu Shimpei, Ito Konoske, Ozaki Konoshin, Kamioka Tanji, Nakahira Riunoske, Yagii Kenji, Mise Genzo and Kiyooka Hanshiro of Tosa, Matsuda Korokuro (his real name was Nakahara Dewa no Kami), Sawara Tashiro (his real name was Toshiro), Saita Saburo (whose real name was Yohichi), Oka Toraroku (whose real name was Hori Rokuro), and Noguchi Itsumaro (his real name was Nakamura Tsunejiro, younger brother of No Tadato) of the Chikuzen clan, Unno Teizo, Sawada Shinzo and his son Shintaro, of Kyoto, Goto Seiji (whose real name was Matsura Hachiro) Maki Geki (younger brother of Idzumi no Kami) Maki Kikushiro (son of Idzumi no Kami), Kitashima Tsutomu (whose real name was Ikejiri Moshiro), Handa Monkichi, Fuchigami Ikutaro and Kenzo, of Kurume, Tsuda Ainoske of Tsushima, Ando Seinoske of Tsuyama in Mimasaka, Taoka Shunsaburo and Ohashi Tomonoske of Iyo, Miyabe Shunzo of Tosa, Ozaka Kojiro and Nishimura Kameji of Higo, Chiya Kikujiro of Tosa, Hirota Seiichiro and Nawa Soske of Uwajima, Nomura Mitsugu of Himeji, Sakai Masanoske of Tosa, Miyake Jiyemon of Tajima, Imahashi Kiuske of Tamba, Futami Ichio of Ise, Wakamatsu Konoshin of Bungo, Awaya Rionoske of Zeze, Kishigami Hiromu of

Utsunomiya, Takebayashi Hachiro of Kawachi, Iidzuka Kamegoro of Komatsu in Iyo and Tokuda Hayato of Hirado.\* Every one of them was clad in complete armour, and right in front were borne two white flags inscribed with the names of the gods Kora Dai-mio-jin† and Katori Dai-mio-jin.‡ In their midst went Maki Idzumi no Kami with a black cap on his head, and clad in armour adorned with tassels of purple silk; he bore also a *shigedô* bow,|| and moved along with an air of enthusiasm.

(20) When the advancing force had proceeded about half way, the sound of musketry was heard continuously in the direction of Fushimi, and taking this for an indication that the division under Fukuhara Echigo had already started from that place, they hastened their march. Passing through Mukai-machi, they came to the village of Katsura, across the Udzura-michi. The sky was overcast and the dawn appeared close at hand, when they again heard the noise of artillery roaring in the direction of Kioto. Fired at the thought that the Saga division had got ahead of them, they sounded the gongs and drums, and hastened forward

\* NOTE BY AUTHOR.—No Tadato Muni (his real name was Nakamura Yenda, a runaway from Chikuzen), Tadokoro Shoske of Tosa and Shohara Tomiye had in the end of the previous month gone down to Choshu to report the state of things at Kioto; and Tashiro Goro (a runaway from Tosa) had a few days previously proceeded to Tajima to ask for assistance.

† Kora-Dai-mio-jin is the name under which Takenouchi no Sukune was canonized as a Kami. He was Prime Minister of Jingo Kogo, the conqueress of Corea. He was a mighty warrior and is said to lived over 250 years.

‡ Katori Dai-mio-jin is the name under which Futsunushi, who with Takemikadzuchi was sent from heaven to conquer Japan, was canonized.

|| A lacquered bow, bound with string.



with quick footsteps. As they approached the city the shades of night began to fade away. They proceeded along the Sembon-dôri as far as Matsubara, and leaving Yanagibaba on the north, advanced to the Sakaimachi Gate. The Saga division had already got to the front of the Hamaguri and Nakadachiuri Gates, and was already engaged.

As all the Nine Gates were shut fast and guarded vigilantly by the troops, Kusaka Gisuke, Maki Idzumi no Kami, Terajima Chusaburo, Iriye Kuichi and Matsuyama Shinzô, with some more, entered by the back gate of the Takadzukasa Palace (on the east of the Sakaimachi Gate), and were followed by the men under them. His ex-Highness Sukehiro Ko was greatly alarmed, and was casting about for what he should do, when Kuzaka Gisuke and Maki Idzumi no Kami begged him to give them an interview. They stated to him that, since the previous year Mori Saisho and his son, with Sanjo dono and the rest, had been animated solely by two objects, namely, respect for the Mikado and the expulsion of the barbarians; that they had expended their energies in the service of the state and had done all in their power to aid the Bakufu; that up to the date of His Majesty's Progress to Kamo they had given disinterested assistance, but had been deceived by the wicked wiles of the Bakufu traitors, so that their honest intentions were frustrated. The consequence had been that the Saisho and his son had been forbidden to enter the Capital, while the seven nobles had been compelled to resign their functions, and to return their rank and dignities *into the hands of the Mikado*. That unable to endure

This spectacle, they had hastened to Kioto, accompanied by righteous and patriotic low-class<sup>o</sup> Samurai, and had sent in many a tearful petition to His Majesty praying that the false accusations made against their lord and the seven nobles might be treated with the contempt they deserved. But in consequence of the slanderous lies of Higo no Kami and the traitors of the Bakufu, not only had their petitions been disregarded, but orders had been given by His Majesty to send attacking parties to the three places at which the Choshu men were stationed, to chastise them. The low class Samurai, therefore, were unable to control their righteous indignation, and were constantly filled with a desire to let their corpses bleach nobly in the Palace itself. The influence of the speakers had been insufficient to restrain them from carrying out their purpose, and being therefore unavoidably compelled to try the issue with Higo no Kami Katamori by appealing to arms, they had made a sudden appearance here, in spite of their reverence for the sanctity of the Palace. And they begged him to excuse their making a disturbance for a short while.

While this was going on, the troops of Matsudaira Echizen no Kami, to whom was entrusted the defence of the Sakaimachi Gate, began to fire at Takadzukasa dono's back gate. Then Awaya Rionoske, Ando Seinoske, Sanada Shiro, Tamagawa Sokichi and Kamioka Tanji, with a few more young fellows of distinguished bravery to the number of fourteen or fifteen, leaped forth shouting "We'll show you what we can do," and fired

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[<sup>o</sup> *Vide* the editor's note, p. 193.]

from underneath the wall. Close upon this volley, Ohashi Tomonoske, Sakai Masanoske, Saita Saburo, Tsuda Ainoske, and Handa Monkichi with others to the number of about twenty, fired right and left into the midst of the Echizen troops. Some twelve or thirteen fell at the first discharge, and as they were wavering under the severity of the fire, Maki Kikushiro, Chiya Kikujiro, Takebayashi Hachiro and some others sallied out upon them from a postern in the north wall. The Echizen men, being unable to withstand the shock of the onset, deserted their post and fled in confusion.

<sup>(30)</sup>At this moment about a hundred men of the Kuwana clan, under the leadership of Fuji Hachizaemon, Chikuma Ichizaemon, Matura Hidehachi and Arai Tsunekichi, came running to the spot, and seeing what was going on, brought aid to the Echizen force; and the latter, being thereby greatly encouraged, reformed their broken ranks, in conjunction with the Kuwana men. The Choshu men, being thus attacked, became more enthusiastic than ever. Wakasugi Konoshin, Taoka Shunsaburo, Ozaka Kojiro, Matsuda Gorokuro, Sawara Taro, Nasu Shimpei, Ozaki Konoshin, Kiyooka Hanshiro and others attacked the foe one after the other. They ran round the place, annoying them in ten thousand different ways, so that the Echizen and Kuwana men were forced to fall back. On the side of Kuwana fell Akamatsu Shigeru, Suto Katsuji, Ito Shigeru and others; while Ohira Kiuzemon, Fukumoto Iori and others, to the number of forty or fifty, were wounded. So they had to retire, and submit to a second defeat.

The Choshu forces, profiting by their victory, followed them up, and carried on by the impulse thus given to their movements, were about to force their way into the Imperial Flower Garden. Just then, Ii Kamon no Kami Nawonori, having set forth from his headquarters at the temple of Chomioji on the east of the city, came running up to the spot at the head of a large force, amounting to more than eight hundred men. He left a battalion waiting on the north, under Kimata Tosa, to act as a support; and the Echizen battalion of Yamagata Saburobei joining itself to Ii Kamon on Kami's main body, fell upon the Choshu men, intoxicated with victory. Then the Echizen men and Kuwana men came on again, and the three clans, forming one body, attacked them vigorously, but the Choshu men, making no account of numbers, engaged the whole of this large force with eagerness.

Forth from the Hikone then rushed Saigo Masanoske shouting that he was the first spearman, and darted with his spear among the Choshu men. Then a runaway of Chikuzen, named Nakamura Tsunejiro thrust forth his spear from the midst of the Choshu, saying, "Here! try if you can meet my spear point;" and the two spears were seen for a short time thrusting and parrying, while those who held them brought all their hidden skill into play. Perhaps it was that Nakamura's superior courage gave him the victory, for at last he thrust Saigo right through the breast, and ran up to take his head. But Awoki Tsuyemon of the Hikone clan, determined not to let the slayer of his friend escape, ran up and thrust his spear right into Nakamura's side, who was thus killed.

(31) Then Utsugi Sanshiro, Sone Sajiuro and Kamio Sozaemon and others of the Hikone clan, cut their way into the midst of the Choshu force, and performed prodigies of valour; upon which Nawa Matajiro a hot-blooded young warrior, darted out, shouting his name, and brought Utsugi Sanshiro, the foremost, to the ground with one thrust of his spear. Sone and Kamio seeing this, resolved not to let a foeman so worthy of their steel escape, and fell upon him straight-way; and Nawa, after defending himself against both at once, at last fell dead at the hands of the Hikone clan.

(32) Then Sawa Soda of the Hikone clan engaged in single combat with Abe Goichi of Choshu, and the latter, being already tired with all the fighting he had done, was killed in his turn.

(33) Previously to this, a Hikone scout, named Kashiwabara Sakio, having come galloping from the east along the Maruta-machi, had arrived outside the Sakai-machi Gate. As soon as he was perceived by the Choshu men, a bullet brought him to the ground; and the horse, deserting his rider, fled far away.

(34) The leaders<sup>o</sup> of the Ii family,\* having commenced the fight, were striving vigorously to get into the place (Takadzukasa's garden), and the Choshu men were equally determined not to let them succeed. One band made a sortie from the postern in the northern wall, and levelling their pieces poured in a dropping fire, retreating as they fired, and firing as they retreated. Many of the

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[<sup>o</sup> Vain]

\* That is, the Hikone clan.

Echizen and Hikone men were struck down by this fire, and others were wounded. The combatants fought indifferently with firearms or with spears, and a hand to hand contest went on for some time, without the victory inclining to either side. At this moment, however, the battle which had been going on in front of the Gate of the nobles came to an end, and all the Choshu forces withdrew from the interior of the Palace. A large body of Aizu men was therefore enabled to join the fight from the north side. The Captain, Nomura Sahioye, brought four or five pieces of cannon from the Imperial Flower Garden, and discharged them all together against the northwest corner of Takadzukasa's wall, and brought it down in ruins. The Choshu Captain who had been commanding at this point, Wakamatsu Konoshin by name, fell dead on the spot, being struck by one of the balls. At the same moment a large force of Satsuma men came up at the double-quick from the west side, and Hitotsubashi dono came himself at the head of four or five hundred men, to lead the attack on horseback.

This division of Choshu men was very brave, and despised death. They cared not for blows or thrusts, but met this innumerable host of Hitotsubashi, Aizu, Satsuma, Echizen, Hikone and Kuwana men without flinching, and defended themselves with the conviction that this was the vital moment.

Hitotsubashi therefore, seeing that the fight could not be brought to a close, ordered up the artillery and infantry (*hoheitai*) to his assistance. Tokuyama Kotaro, Kono Uichiro, Enomoto Teizo and Osawa Genichiro

brought up two companies of infantry and two pieces of cannon, with which they were on the point of firing ; but Matsuyama Shingo and seventeen or eighteen others suddenly arose and discharged a volley, by which Seki Hiroyemon, Ikigata Tetsutaro, Yamada Inoske, Kôno Uichiro and others of the artillery were wounded and forced to retire. The enemy then poured in a shower of grape from their cannon, and a large number of Choshu men were killed and wounded thereby.

The latter now became desperate. Kusaka Gisuke endeavoured to stimulate still further the courage of his men, and shouted his orders in a stentorian voice. Then the back gate opened suddenly, and out of it rushed Matsuyama Shinzo, Maki Geki, Shinagawa Yajiro, Arikawa Kumajiro and others at the head of the *Chiu-yu-tai*, and *Gi-yu-tai* ;\* while from the postern in the north wall darted forth Terashima Chiusaburo, Iriye Kuichi, Hara Rokuda, Ikejiri Moshio, Nose Tatsutaro, Shimidzu Gengoyemon, Kano Setsuzo, Nasu Shimpei, Sashima Hanzo, Nakahira Rionoske, Tsuda Ainoske, Sawara Tashiro, Unno Teizo, Kaya Shiro, Ando Seinoske, Awaya Rionoske and others. Without looking to the right or left, they cut into the centre of the artillery and infantry. These two bodies, not being composed of skilful swordsmen, were routed at once, falling, helter-skelter into confusion, and fleeing away every man of them. Then the Aidzu, Hikone and Kuwana forces came into the fight again, and many were killed and wounded on either side.

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\* *The Band of Loyal Braves and the Band of Righteous Braves.*

The Imperial forces were, however, constantly reinforced by fresh bodies of men, while the Choshu troops lost numbers of killed and wounded in each skirmish, until their strength was reduced to something very small. Still, being intrepid warriors, and animated by the greatest fierceness and enthusiasm, they were only spurred on to greater efforts of valour at the sight of their falling comrades. They pressed hard on the foe, while showers of sparks fell from their sword points, so that it seemed as if the combat would never terminate.

<sup>(35)</sup>Hitherto Hitotsubashi dono had taken up a position in front of Hase dono's house,\* to superintend in person the efforts of the Imperial forces, when an aide-de-camp came running up to inform him that his presence was required at the Palace on business of great urgency. He left his men there on the spot, and accompanied by one or two followers, proceeded to the Palace. Here he was met by a number of *Kuge*, who burst out with the question. "How is the battle going?" Hitotsubashi replied that he was confident of winning the victory. The nobles then said that though there might be disgrace in making peace after a defeat, there could be none in offering terms when the victory had been already gained. Several bullets had already found their way into the Mikado's Courtyard, and the thunder of musketry was so loud as to make them fear for His Majesty's safety. It would be advisable therefore to make peace, and to order the Prince of Choshu and his

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\* On the side of the road opposite to the northwest corner of the Takadzukasa's residence.



son to come up to the capital. Hitotsubashi dono was highly indignant at the proposition, and said that it was impossible to entertain the notion of making any terms with brigands who had fired against the Sacred Precincts; that for his own part, he felt it his duty not to let a single rebel escape. If however the contest lasted much longer, and the opposition Miyas secretly made peace, the Empire would be brought to the brink of ruin, and the very existence of the Tokugawa family imperilled. He felt therefore that the best policy was to settle the affair with all possible speed, and to that end he therefore gave orders for attacking parties to be sent round to the back from the Hamaguri and Sakaimachi Gates, to kindle fires all round and lay everything in ashes.

The soldiers engaged in the assault obeyed with alacrity, and threw shell after shell into the roof of Takadzukasa dono's sleeping apartments. Suddenly the devouring flames blazed forth and upwards, and the whole interior of the Palace was filled with smoke, so that it was impossible to distinguish even the nearest objects. The neighbouring streets, occupied by the townspeople, were also set on fire here and there, so that the rebels were soon surrounded by a circle of fire.

The attacking parties were now reinforced, and poured forth volleys from before and behind, under the cover of which they made an assault. The Choshiu forces were filled with greater ardour than ever, and their souls were animated with heroic courage; but the conflagration having spread to the inside of the Palace, they became choked with the black smoke, and were utterly unable to carry on the fight. Coming

therefore to the conviction that it was a hopeless case, they resolved to sally forth like heroes and die in the Sacred Precincts; and sally forth they did, like warriors at bay.

<sup>(36)</sup>As the ex-Kuambaku Sukehiro Kô was prevented by this tumult from attending at the Palace, he had hitherto remained in his palace. He had previously sent away his children to a safe place, but as the Palace still continued to burn, the warriors, in their anxiety for his safety, determined to assist him to escape. The Hikone clan therefore escorted him his back gate, and brought him in safety to the Tokiwai den.\*

<sup>(37)</sup>The Choshu men, feeling that this was the most glorious battle they ever had any chance of engaging in, were determined to perform a deed which should win the admiration of the world, and be worshipped as a model by after ages; and resolving not to retreat a single step, and thus leave behind them a name stained with cowardice, summoned up all their valour for one last sally. Without hesitation or faltering, they cut their way into the crowd of foes who blocked up the space in front of the gate, and slashed and thrust right and left. The Imperial forces surrounded them, and attacked them on all sides; and friend and foe shed showers of sparks as they strove hand to hand. The Choshu men resisted as long as life was left or an arm remained to deal a blow; but they were fatigued with fighting from the early morning, and had furthermore had no time to refresh themselves with the provisions they carried. Moreover they had countless foes to combat, who

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\* The Tokiwai den is another house belonging to Takadzukasa dono.

were constantly reinforced by fresh bodies. Making up their minds that their last hour was come, they pressed on the foe, regarding neither blow nor thrust, and dealing cuts at the bodies and legs of their foes; and many were wounded and killed on both sides in the dire confusion.

(38) There fell on the Choshu side in this mad strife the captain Iriye Kuichi, with Handa Monkichi, Kawajima Takejiro, Nasu Shimpei, Awaya Rionoske, Yanai Kenji, Taoka Shunzaburo, Ozaki Konoshin, Uyeda Tanji, Nakahira Riunoske, Ito Konoske, Ohashi Tomonoske, Awoki Yosaburo, Tsuda Ainoske, Ando Seinoske, Takebayashi Hachiro and other warriors of distinguished merit. The commanders-in-chief Kusaka Gisuke, Terajima Chiuzaburo and Hara Rokuda, with many others, were severely wounded. Scarcely one remained without a hurt.

At last they became so enfeebled by fighting that they could do no more. All the soldiers were therefore called together, and brought back inside the gate for a short interval of repose. The Imperial forces hearing the retreat sounded, and seeing the enemy retiring, followed them up, fancying that they were flying, and intending not to let a single one escape the edge of the sword. They were attempting to force their way in at the gate, when they were repulsed and the gate shut in their faces. In order therefore to set fire to the buildings inside, they threw in quantities of gunpowder, and flames burst out here and there in the Palace.

Finding their powers insufficient to extinguish the *gration*, the Choshu men came to the conclusion

that it was all over with them; and with the firm resolution of nobly ripping up their bellies, and jumping into the flames to consume their corpses, so that the enemy might not take their heads after they were dead, were on the point of falling on their swords; but Kusaka Gisuke and Terajima Chiuzaburo sought to restrain them, saying, "The day has been an unlucky one for us. We have received such severe wounds that it is impossible for us to escape alive, and try again a second time; we will therefore put an end to our existence in the midst of the flames. But what object would be attained by all of you dying here? We have already information that Nagato no Kami dono has started from home. Do you therefore retreat to Yamazaki, and collecting the remains of the Saga and Fushimi divisions, take up a position on Tennozan. There you may devise a plan of operations, and make use of such tactics as will enable you seriously to annoy any troops which may be sent against you, and also to hold out for a time, till Nagato no Kami dono arrives, as he assuredly will, at the head of a large force. Then it will not be too late make a second attempt, and wipe out the shame of Kai-kei.\* "Quickly away then."

Whilst this exhortation was being delivered, the beams of the roof began to burn through and fall down. Before the answer yes or no could be given, Kusaka Gisuke, Terajima Chiuzaburo, Iriye Kuichi and seven or

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\* In the wars between Wu<sup>1</sup> and Yue<sup>2</sup> in China, the King Koutsien<sup>3</sup> was beaten and fled to Hwei-ki<sup>4</sup> (pronounced Kai-kei in Japanese). He subsequently retrieved his fortunes. This has become a proverbial name for all defeats, which are afterwards wiped out. [<sup>1</sup>吳 <sup>2</sup>越 <sup>3</sup>勾踐 <sup>4</sup>會稽]

eight others who had received severe wounds, ripped up their bellies on one common death bed, and threw themselves into the midst of the flames and smoke.

Maki Idzumi no Kami, Matsuyama Shinzo, Shinagawa Yajiro and the other Captains, seeing the wisdom of the counsel given by Kusaka and Terajima, determined to waste no more time. What would be the use of their being burnt to death? It would be better to make good their retreat, and joining themselves to the Saga and Fushimi divisions, endeavour to bring their fallen fortunes to life again. They then collected the remaining intrepid warriors, and made a sudden and vigorous sortie with the object of breaking through the enemy and thus escaping. At the front gate were collected the forces of Echizen and Kuwana and the Hikone men under Kimata Tosa, while at the north gate were the troops of Hitotsubashi, Satsuma and Aidzu as thick as nails on the sole of a boot, who pointed a number of cannon against them; while the musketeers stood with their barrels ready levelled in a line, waiting for the sally which they expected the Choshu men would make. At the back gate were Nukina Chikugo and Niino Samanoske of the Hikone clan, at the head of a large body of troops, ready to shoot down with a single volley any who might issue forth, and their mouths watered with expectation.

(<sup>99</sup>)When Takadzukasa dono's palace was thus encompassed round about, ten fold and twenty fold, and the building itself was in a blaze, the Choshu men looked like birds in a cage. Suddenly they opened the back gate, and Matsuyama Shinzo, Ikejiri Moshio, Matsuda

Gorokuro, Iriyè Yachibei, Miwa Moku-no-ske, with the rest of those who had been shut up inside, darted forth together ; and discharging a volley into the midst of the thick ranks of the enemy, without so much as saying ' by your leave,' raised a loud shout at the same moment. Dashing on to the Imperial forces, who were dismayed by the violence of the onset, they seized a couple of cannon, and turning them round, discharged them with a bang. Four or five of the Hikone men were knocked over on the spot, and their ranks being broken, the rest began to flee.

The Choshu men, taking advantage of their opportunity, fell on the foe right and left with their swords, and cut their way through without much difficulty. Having thus opened the way to life, they took to their heels, in different directions.

They had proposed to put themselves in communication with the Saga and Fushimi divisions, in order to make a second attempt ; but the forces under Kokushi and Kijima had also been routed ; Kijima had been killed and Kokushi was nowhere to be found. The Fushimi division had been cut off by the Ogaki force at Fukakusa and Fukuwara, and had been put to flight ; and when Nomi Oriyé, the *rusui* of the clan *yashiki* at Kawaramachi, heard that his side had been defeated, he seems to have come to the conclusion that before long the Imperial forces would come to attack him, and that he would be unable to withstand them ; so he set fire to the *yashiki*. The black smoke rose in volumes to the clouds, and the fierce flames burnt upwards. The different bands of their party having thus lost the

victory, they all fled towards Yamazaki, being unable to make any further resistance.

<sup>(40)</sup>As the Yamazaki division was stronger than either of the others, they had been able to keep up the fight from six o'clock in the morning until eleven o'clock.

<sup>(41)</sup>The Imperial forces engaged in the combat at the Sakaimachi Gate lost in killed of the Aidzu clan, Matsudaira Shogen, Nakayama Heihachiro, Nakayama Genjiro, Kikuta Kodama, Katsu Taniyemon, Ikai Sodenji, Morinaka Ataru, Takiyama Kimiya, Koyama Hayato, Takaku Chikara, Tate Teiko, Hara Jidaiyu, Hiheki Torakichi, Sakagami Murionoske, Sakagami Tamakichi, Shinano Soda, Okawa Sakon and others, besides a large number of wounded. The Echizen clan lost in killed Tsuda Yataroku, Asai Tsunejiro, Uyeno Sama, Raikata Genjiro, Tohara Denshichiro and a considerable number of wounded. The Hikone clan lost in killed Tsudzuki Yajiemon, Yamaguchi Nishiyemon, Kato Matsujiro, Takeda Jiroyemon, Kodama Shingo, Haramiishi Tokunoske, Tomihisa Kimen, Jo Sakunoske, and others, besides a large number of the rank and file.

<sup>(42)</sup>To return to a different part of our subject :—The attacking parties came rushing together in numbers to Takadzukasa's residence with the intention of burning it to the ground and killing every Choshu man inside. They employed all the contrivances they could think of, piling burning grass all round, and firing shell into it continually. But the Choshu men had already sallied forth from the backgate, and had taken to their heels; *so the Imperial forces raised a shout of victory, and*

marched home to their barracks, singing songs as they went.

(43) It is a subject of respectful regret that the beautiful palace of a noble who had held office as Kuambaku during two reigns, a building which had taken many years to construct, and was curiously adorned with gold and silver, together with his collection of curiosities and his harem, should have been completely turned into smoke by one morning's war-conflagration, and have entirely disappeared from men's eyes.

(44) As Hitotsubashi dono had previously given orders to set fire to any places in which rebels might be concealed, the residences of the high in office and rank, of princes of the blood and of nobles, the *yashiki* of the military class, nay, even temples and shrines, were all set on fire without distinction. The palaces of Kurahashi, Iwakura, Rokkaku, Toyooka, Jikoji, Sanjonishi, Okimachi-Sanjo, Shijo, Nishidoin, Higashizono, Kitanokoji, Mibu, and the houses of the officials, were destroyed without exception. The houses of the townspeople were also fired in several places, and the conflagration gradually spread far and wide, without giving any signs of ever coming to an end.

The daimios resident in Kioto had all been extremely alarmed when they heard that morning of the disturbance at the Palace, and catching up whatever weapon came first to hand, had rushed forth in a hurry, to make their preparations for the battle. They made the soldiers don their armour, and proceeded in haste at the head of large bodies of troops, with flags and banners flying, and dragging fieldpieces after them, to the Sacred



Precincts. Amongst those who acted thus were Kato Etchū no Kami of Minakuchi in Omi, Matsudaira Sanuki no Kami of Takamatsu in Sanuki, Matsudaira Oki no Kami of Matsuyama in Iyo, Okubo Kaga no Kami of Odawara in Sagami, Sanada Shinano no Kami of Matsushiro in Shinano, Honda Shiūzen no Kami of Zeze in Omi, Naruse Hayato no Kami, of Inuyama in Owari, besides Hitotsubashi dono, and the Princes of Aidzu, Kuwana, Yodo and Hikone; with the *tsukebuke* Matsudaira Wakasa no Kami and Kasuya Chikugo no Kami, the commandants of the patrols of Kyoto Makida Sagami no Kami and Matsudaira Idzumo no Kami, and the *machi-bugio* Takigawa Harima no Kami. All of these persons, hurrying each to be first, hastened to the Palace in order to inquire after His Majesty's health. There assembled also at the Palace the gendarmerie of the warriors-in-waiting, of the two Civil Governors, the city patrol, the *Shinsengumi*, the Military School Regiment, the yeomen of Totsugawa; besides men of the different clans who came hurrying in from the neighbourhood on hearing of the tumult, and the garrisons of the Nine Gates, to the number of more than 50,000 warriors in all. They crowded the Palace, and the air was filled with their waving banners, insomuch that there was not room left to stick in a carpenter's awl.

<sup>(46)</sup>Now Matsudaira Chikuzen no Kami, Prince of Kaga, had some time previously arrived at the capital, and after abiding there a space, had taken leave a few days previously. Ignorant of the disturbance, he had started for his native province this same morning before it was yet light. Just as he got to Otsu, news was brought

to him of the commotion at Kioto; he therefore occupied Miidera with his men, intending to return to the city, if circumstances should turn out to require his presence. Before long, he heard that everything had terminated quietly, and at once proceeded on his homeward journey.

(47) Fukuwara Echigo, who had been quartered in the clan *yashiki* at Fushimi, had previously agreed with the divisions at Yamazaki and Saga as to the plan of operations, and true to time, had already on the previous evening got his horses ready for the march into Kioto. So he started from Fushimi a little after midnight.

(48) Echigo was mounted on horseback, and held a bâton of white paper in his hand. He wore a mantle of scarlet embroidered with his crest, the plant trefoil, and under it a suit of armour adorned with purple fastenings. His headcovering was a warrior's cap of bronzed leather. His appearance was everything that is dignified and impressive. Right in front of him went a flag emblazoned with the line and three stars,\* together with two fieldpieces and fifty or sixty muskets. Lighted lanterns and pine-torches were borne before and behind in large numbers. He was followed by Kumagaya Yuki and Yoshida Iwao on horseback, besides Fukuwara Taminoske, Saburi Tokusaburo, Shishido Kiunoshin, Dewa Magoshiro, Tanaka Seiske, Ura Chiuzaburo, Iida Kumasaburo, Awaya Matasuke, Katsura Katsusaburo, Uyeda Kumanojo, Awaya Yamaske, Okamura Kumashichi and Muraoka Isuké. The Captain of the rear-guard was Nakamura Kurobei. The whole force, amounting to

\* The crest of Choshu is a line with three spots underneath, arranged in the form of a triangle with the apex downwards,

about five hundred men, crossed the Kiobashi,\* and advanced towards Kioto.

(49) The scouts and spies of the daimios, on seeing the start take place, imagined that the Choshiu men were retiring to Yamazaki, as an order had been given to them to quit their barracks at the three points that morning, and return to their native country; but when the latter took the high road from Fushimi to Kioto, they perceived that the intention was to surprise the capital; and hastened off in great haste and alarm, to make their several reports.

(50) The Choshiu force under Fukuwara Echigo advanced as far as the temple of Hotoji at Fukakusa, where the Ogaki troops, of Toda Uneme no Sho, had been already encamped to guard the road. Ohara Nihei the Captain, on hearing of the enemy's approach, told his men to look out, and ordered his son Ohara Kazuye and Takaoka Saburobei to place a couple of hundred men right and left of the road, and to light a number of beacon fires; then to take the mats out of the peasant's houses and make a barricade of them, and to lengthen the lanternpoles two feet. This stratagem was intended to render the enemy's aim uncertain. The second division, under Ohara Nihei and Toda Kinnojo, consisting of two hundred men, was stationed about two hundred and fifty yards behind the first.

(51) The Choshiu force, ignorant of these dispositions, advanced as far as the Sujikai bridge, when the Ogaki men unexpectedly discharged a cannon, which was

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\* The Bridge leading out of Fushimi.

succeeded by a dropping fire musketry. The Choshu men, disconcerted by the report of a big gun so close to their cars, seemed unable to advance. Kumagaya Yuki shouted out;—"The enemy has an ambuscade, methinks, look out sharp. Advance, ye men!" A quantity of strong powder was rammed down their two field-pieces, which were discharged with a bang that was loud enough to crumble the hills and valleys into one mass; and they followed this up by a discharge of musketry as thick as axletrees. The first division of the Ogaki force being unable to endure the severity of the fire, broke its ranks, and the Choshu men, thinking they had the advantage, fell upon them with the sword, cutting and hacking. The foe fled helter-skelter, abandoning two fieldpieces, and were scattered to the four winds. The Choshu men made prize of the cannon, and continued to keep up the fire.

Flushed with this successful commencement, they were advancing again, taking aim at the lanterns so cunningly placed in position beforehand by the Ogaki men, so that their bullets flew high up in the air. Unaware of this, and seeing no signs of an enemy anywhere in the neighbourhood, they became negligent, fancying that the foe, frightened by their immense prowess, had abandoned their camp and fled away; and they were passing by the hostile encampment with this idea, when suddenly three cannon shots were fired right into their midst, followed immediately by a continuous fire of musketry, by which seven or eight Choshu men were knocked down with a clatter. Under these circumstances of surprise and confusion the Ogaki men appeared

here and there out of the houses; and falling vigorously upon them killed and wounded a large number. When they were quite bewildered, the first division of the Ogaki men which had been defeated a few minutes before, seeing that their side was getting the best of it, came running back, and saluted them with a volley.

The guards at the Bungo bashi,\* who were Sabae† men, hearing the row, came running up to give their assistance to the Ogaki men, and the latter became more and more enthusiastic. The Captains Ohara Nihei and Toda Kinnoske encouraged their men, calling out to them, "The foe's footing is uncertain; let him not take breath, but cut him to pieces." They surrounded the Choshu men, and attacked them right and left, from before and behind, so that the clan found itself in imminent peril. Nakamura Kurobei, Yoshida Iwao, Saburi Tokusaburo, Katsura Katsusaburo, Tanaka Seiske, Dewa Magoshiro and others, called up all their courage, and strove vigorously to break through and get into the capital; but their advanced body having been taken by surprise, had lost a large number of wounded, and was entirely routed. Some of those most distinguished for valour, as Katsura Katsusaburo, Saburi Tokusaburo and Tanaka Seisaburo, pressed into the thick of the foe, and after receiving severe wounds, retreated again. The leader Fukuwara Echigo was shot through the shoulder, and fell from his horse. The enemy, seeing this, gained

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\* Bridge over the river behind Fushimi, which runs past Uji from lake Biwa.

† *Manabé Shimôsa no Kami, fudai daimiô, 40,000 koku.*

fresh energy, and strove who should be first to come up with him and take his head. The Choshu warriors, determined not to let their leader be killed, withstood the enemy and dared them to come on; and his body guard, taking advantage of the opportunity, drew Fukuwara away and conducted him in safety to Fushimi.

The report of artillery had been heard by the Aidzu troops, who, with the Kuwana leader Hisatoku Gohei and Kondo Isami, the captain of the *Shinsen-gumi*, had been encamped on the north of the Takeda\* road, to repel any advance which might be made from Fushimi.

<sup>(82)</sup>They knew at once that fighting had begun on the main road, and a half battalion of two hundred men was immediately despatched to the scene of the conflict. The Aidzu men also marched at once in the direction of Fukakusa, and Hisatoku Kiubei of the Kuwana clan proceeded to the Kuromon entrance, intending to take the Choshu men in the rear, should they advance further. The Hikone captain Ingai Tokuyemon, who had his quarters established at Fujinomori, marched with a large body of men to the aid of the Ogaki troops, with the design of cutting to pieces the Choshu rear-guard; and fell upon them, when they appeared already vanquished, so that they were completely routed. The soldiers began to fly one after the other, and all hope of getting to Kyoto being lost, they fell upon the foe advancing from the south, and broke through him after some hard

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\* Two roads lead from Fushimi into Kyoto, the Fushimi Kaido over the bridges, and the Takeda Kaido direct to the bottom of the Sakai-machi street. A road called the Toba Kaido runs through the fields from Yodo, entering Kyoto some way below the Castle of Nijo.

fighting, engaging the enemy, who was determined not to let them escape, as they went, now yielding an inch and now gaining it back again; rushing upon their pursuers in a body, and then retreating again, fighting as they retreated and retreating as they fought.

In this way they were followed as far as Sumizome, when the Captain of the rear-guard, Nakamura Kurobei, halted, and fell with dauntless courage on the pursuing foe. Shimmi Danzo and seven or eight other hot headed young fellows rushed on the enemy and died fighting; while the Ogaki force lost a large number in killed and wounded.

During this interval the Choshu clan escaped from their difficulties and retreated a considerable distance. The Ogaki forces, being fatigued with the fighting they had done, came to the conclusion that it was useless to continue the pursuit any further, and returned to their barracks, raising a shout of triumph. By this time the cocks were just beginning to crow.

<sup>(53)</sup>Fukuwara Echigo had fought the Ogaki troops and lost the victory; and moreover, he was so severely wounded as to be unable to sit on horseback. A palanquin was therefore obtained from a house at Sumizome, and he returned to the clan-*yashiki* at Fushimi, through bitterly regretting the necessity of so doing. Here he rested a short time, and heard repeated reports of firing in the direction of Kyoto, from which he supposed that the Saga and Yamazaki divisions had already entered the capital and commenced the action. Nakamura Kurobei and the others were indignant at the *thought* that their division had been prevented from

advancing, simply because they had engaged a small detachment of Ogaki troops, and proposed with their re-assembled forces, amounting to more than three hundred men, to march a second time on Kioto. They therefore put the wounded into boats, and started them down the river to Osaka; after which they left the clan *yashiki* and proceeded as far as the Tambabashi. Here they found the enemy in greater force than ever, for the Hikone, Sabae, Ogaki and Aidzu clans had now effected a junction, and were guarding the road strongly, with banners waving and several field-pieces placed in a row.

The Choshu men were unable to approach, and considering that, even if they managed to break through at this point, it was very doubtful whatever they would be able to enter Kioto, changed their line of march and retreated again. When the Hikone clan perceived this, its leaders Onoda Giichiro and Nakano Mikinoske gave orders to the soldiers to bring the cannon to the front, and to follow up the enemy with musketry fire. The Choshu men tried to hold their ground, but found it impossible to resist, and retreated therefore in the direction of Yoko-oji-mura, whence they escaped to Yamazaki.

The Hikone forces, taking advantage of this state of things, proceeded to attack the Choshu *yashiki* at Minami-hama,\* by firing at it from the northern end of the Kiobashi with five field-pieces. The whole of the buildings burst at once into flames, and the fire spreading to the town, consumed thirty-four or five of the neighbouring houses.

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\* A street in Fushimi.



(54) To return to another part of our subject :—Although the different bands of Choshu men who attacked Kioto had been beaten and scattered to the four winds, it was supposed that some of them still remained concealed in the larger temples and in houses belonging to the townspeople; and in order to discover whether this was the case, a general inspection of the town was made by the Aidzu, Echizen and Hikone clans, by the patrol under Makida Sagami no Kami and the police of the *machibugyo* Takigawa Harima no Kami. All suspicious persons were arrested or killed on the spot, and houses set on fire here and there, so that the whole town was at last involved in one general conflagration.

The entire space south of Maruta machi,\* bounded on the east by Teramachi dori was completely destroyed. Mio-man-ji, Hon-no-ji, Tensho-ji, Yatadera, and Seiguanji fell victims to the flames, and all the other temples and shrines as far south as Nishiki Tenjin were burnt. On the west the space from Nakadachiuri to South Muromachi was burnt, as also that between Tsuchimikado and Shimmachi, the new *yashiki* of the Military governor (Aidzu) escaping. From the Shimodachiuri to Kamaza, and from Maruta machi to the canal, a space bounded on the south by the fields only was completely destroyed. All the Shinto Shrines and Buddhist Temples, as well as the houses of Prince of the Blood, Nobles of the Court and Clans, were reduced to ashes. This conflagration

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\* The street which bounds the Nine Gates on the south. Teramachi runs along the side of the Nine Gates right through the town, at a little distance from the Kamogawa.

was distinguished from ordinary ones by the fact that there were a large number of persons engaged in spreading, and not a single individual engaged in putting it out. It went on burning, assisted by the high wind which blew at the time, and as night came on the blaze was larger and fiercer than ever. On the morning of the 21st of August the ferocious flames were still rising wildly into the air, gradually extending further to the south. Whenever its energy appeared to slacken, shells were thrown into it, to fan it again, so that of course it never had a chance of dying out. Besides, there were thirty or forty centres from which the fire spread, and the whole of the town within the limits was in a state of combustion.

The individuals implicated in the Choshu affair, who were confined in the Rokkaku prison, were therefore dragged out of their cells, and their heads were hacked off in the interior of the prison.

<sup>(85)</sup> Amongst them were Kawamura Noto no Kami, a retainer of Sanjo-Nishi dono, Niwa Idzumo no Kami, a retainer of Sanjo dono, Hiraño Jiro, a runaway from Chikuzen, and some of the accomplices in the Yamato disturbance, namely Inui Jiro, Morimoto Dembei, Midzutori Kohayato, Yoshida Chiuzo, Hobo Tateru, Funada Hikojiro, Harata Issaku, Tsuji Ikunoske, Tanaka Kusunoske, Nakagura Saijiro, and his servant Tsurumatsu Tsuneske, besides Omura Tatsunoske, a participator in the Tajima disturbance, Nagao Ikusaburo, concerned in the affair of the wooden heads of the Ashikaga and Kodaka Shuntaro, Yamada Toranoske, Uchiyama Taroyemon, Sato Ichiro, Yoshida Goro, Minagumo Heima, Sakurayama Goro, the two priests Gensuibō and Shinkibō, a Kioto merchant

named Tawaraya Seibei, a retainer of Niwa Idzumo no Kami named Kikkawa Kikujiro, and a retainer of Kawamura Noto no Kami named Kawakatsu Sanejiro, to the number of thirty seven<sup>o</sup> persons in all. The following verses, bidding farewell to life, were composed on the occasion.

Chinese verses by Onakatomi\*

I approach with my body the dragon-fetters and the tiger's mouth ;  
My fame, cut short in mid career, is but a dream.  
My body will shortly be buried in the desert ;  
Who will write down as a loyal heart a victim of the law ?

Japanese stanza (by the same)

" The day has come when I must cast away  
" The life which I have devoted to my prince.

Japanese stanza by Kawamura Hidenari<sup>oo</sup>

" My soul shall live long in Nagato,  
" Under the shadow of a prince who grieves for the age.

(<sup>56</sup>) These men had for years endured grief and hardship in the service of the state, and had run about from east to west, exhausting their energies. But, whether it was from the time fixed by destiny not having arrived, before they had half accomplished the objects of their aspiration, they were taken to another world. Is not this a melancholy thing to contemplate ?

(<sup>57</sup>) Now Kokushi Shinano of the Choshiu clan, having lost the victory at Kioto, returned in the first place to the Tenriuji at Saga, having lost a number of his men on the field of the battle, besides those who were taken prisoners.

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[<sup>o</sup> Thirty three]

\* Hirano Jiro Kuniomi.

[<sup>oo</sup> Kawamura Noto no Kami.]

Many, too, who had sought safety in flight, never returned to him, and his force scarcely exceeded fifty or sixty men. It was evident that with such small numbers it would be impossible to resist an attack successfully, and that if he wasted time by hanging about the place, the Imperial forces would be sure to take him by surprise. He therefore collected the remains of his defeated division, and abandoning the camp at Tenriuji, retreated to Yamazaki.

(88) There was a report on the morning of the 21st in the city of Kioto that the Choshu clan was still ensconced in the Tenriuji at Saga, and the Satsuma clan was ordered to go and attack it. Yoshida Shintaro and Hiuga Nawoske proceeded thither in consequence, at the head of three hundred men of that clan, all clad in complete armour, and dragging with them some cannon.

(89) By this time all the Choshu clan had escaped, leaving only two or three of the rank and file, who had loitered behind. These were arrested, and every corner examined to see if others were not hidden about the place. As no suspicious individuals were found, they made prize of the provisions stored there and of the arms and so forth which had been left behind, and driving out the priests, fired into the Abbot's private apartments and kitchen, setting them on fire. The hall of worship, the founder's hall, the pagoda, seven small shrines, the Sen-shin-tei\* and the Sangenya in front of Arashiyama were all burnt to the ground. However the other buildings, including the library of sacred books, the bell tower, the

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\* A sort of summer-house probably.

Shari\* shrine, the gate used by the Imperial Envoys on their visits to the temple and the great gate, were left unhurt. As the temple of Horinji had also been occupied by the Choshu clan up to the previous day, it was set fire to, and laid in ashes. The "unrivalled wild cherry-trees" which were in full leaf were also destroyed. As nobody was found concealed or lurking about the place, they gave the whole of the five hundred bags of rice of which they had made booty, to those who had suffered by the fire.

<sup>(60)</sup>Now the soldiers who had escaped being killed after the defeat at Kioto gradually collected at Tennozan by Yamazaki, and discussed the advisability of renewing the attempt. The Kiheitai were of opinion that they should get together all the men who were left, and occupying the mountain, resist the attack of the Imperial forces. They would be able to have a fight and annoy the enemy, and hold out for two or three days at least, during which interval Nagato no Kami would arrive. They might then heroically decide the issue. In spite of the ardour of these men, there were others, who having been disappointed in their expectations on this occasion, thought there was no reason to calculate on victory if they renewed the attempt; and these spiritless individuals were so numerous, that the discussion was prolonged without any result.

At this very moment Nagato no Kami dono had got as far as Tadotsu in Sanuki, when he was informed that barbarian ships had made a sudden attack on his native country, in the hope of revenging themselves for their

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\* Shari is a Buddha. [Shari is a small hard substance, supposed to be left in the ashes after burning the dead body of a Buddhist saint.]

defeat in the previous summer.\* He therefore returned home at once from Tadotsu.

When this news was brought to them they felt that to be indifferent to the peril of their native country, or to be callous to the danger to which their prince was exposed, was not in accordance with the aspirations of brave *samurai*; and they decided first to hasten down to Nagato and Suwo, drive away the barbarian brigands, and then it would still not be too late to march again on the capital, and wipe out the disgrace of their defeat.

Maki Idzumi no Kami and Matsuyama Shinzō, with others, were of opinion that this decision was most reasonable. As they had been the ringleaders in fanning the zeal of the whole clan and of the low class *samurai*, and in inducing them to march on Kioto and violate the sanctity of the Forbidden Precincts, how could they calmly sit down under defeat; with what face could they return home and meet the eyes of everybody? Let the rest return to their country, and strive with all their might to do their duty loyally; but as for themselves they would die where they were, and let their deaths justify them. Let the others therefore be off quickly.

While this discussion was proceeding, the sound of drums and gongs was heard suddenly in the distance;

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‡ The Barrosa and Cormorant went on a reconnoitering expedition in the beginning of August to Shimonoseki Straits. Subsequently an expedition composed of eight British, four Dutch, and three French men-of-war, and an United States steamer, with one gun mounted on the forecastle, assembled at Himeshima, whence the combined squadron proceeded to force the straits. The victory was complete. All the guns mounted at Shimonoseki were taken away, and the batteries destroyed as far as possible.

and as it came nearer and nearer, they came to the conclusion that the *Tsui-to-shi*\* was on the march. It would be troublesome if their retreat were to be cut off, so they all took eternal leave of each other, and made their escape in the direction of their native country, each taking a separate road.

<sup>(61)</sup>As soon as news had been brought that the fugitive warriors of Choshu were ensconced at Tennozan, it was decided that Jimbo Kuranoske of Aidzu should be appointed general of the pursuing force, and lead a force of fifteen hundred men against them. The *Shin-sen-gumi* were to occupy the post of honour in the van, while to the forces of prince Kuwana, the Shogun's Resident, was entrusted the charge of the rear; and they were to make the attack by Yanagi-ga-yatsu. The Hikone and Sasayama forces were to halt half-way to reinforce them if necessary.

On the morning of the 22nd August they arrived at the village of Yamazaki, and expelled all the inhabitants from their houses. The emblems of Yawata Miya had previously been removed to the shrine of the emperor Gotoba at Hirosemura in the province of Settsu. The Aidzu clan then proceeded to move up their forces to the attack of Tennozan, but found the place solitary and quiet, and not even the shadow of a man was visible. They therefore came to the conclusion that the enemy had already retreated, and went up the hill carelessly, when suddenly six or seven shots were fired from the top.

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\* Literally, Messenger of Pursuing and Striking, *i. e.* the forces sent by the Mikado in pursuit.

The Aidzu men were greatly flustered at this, and fancied they had fallen into an ambuscade, and in their anxiety not to be caught unawares, rushed about in wild confusion. Three or four of them were wounded, and the whole force, frightened at the report of the shots, broke and fled to the front of Yawata Miya. At this moment came voices from the top of the hill shouting "Wait, Ye Aidzu brigands," but as they were afraid that they had fallen into a trap laid by a direful foe, they did not dare to approach. Shortly after, a single report was heard on the top of the mountain, and immediately a cloud of black smoke rose to the heavens, apparently from some huts which had been set on fire. Judging from this that the enemy must have retreated, they formed the line with care and marched up to the top. On looking round they saw in the ashes of the huts the bodies of sixteen or seventeen men who had disembowelled themselves on a common bed of death. As the corpses were already half consumed by the flames, their heads could not be taken, nor could their identity be ascertained. A hole was therefore dug, in which all the bodies were buried.

<sup>(62)</sup>The house of the Shinto priest Tsuda Kaga was then set on fire, and destroyed, as were also the greater part of the temples within the enclosure of Yawata, including these of Jinguji and Kuanonji. The houses of the common people were also set on fire, and a hundred and seventy or eighty were entirely consumed by the flames. Rich and poor, old and young raised loud cries of lamentation, and ran bewildered away in great perturbation and fear. The Takaradera escaped uninjured, but the abbot Tange Osho, on the ground of having been an



accomplice of the Choshu clan, was made prisoner. The Aidzu clan also made prize of the weapons and provisions abandoned here and there by the Choshu men, and five bags of unhulled rice were given to each of the townspeople who had suffered by the fire.

<sup>(63)</sup>The names of those who lay dead by their own hand on the top of this mountain were—Maki Idzumi no Kami, Matsura Hachiro and Ikejiri Moshio, all three of Kurume, Matsuda Gorokuro of Chikuzen, Kaya Shiro, Nakatsu Hikotaro, Sakai Shonoske, Miyabe Shunzo, and Nishijima Kametaro, all of Higo, Chiya Kikujiro, Matsuyama Shinzo, Nose Tatsutaro, Ogata Kojiro, Ando Shinnoske, Kato Tsunekichi, all of Tosa, Kishigami Hiromu and Hirota Seiichi of Utsunomiya. Kurose Ichiro, Kayano Kayemon and Kunitomo Tsunekichi having performed the last office of decapitation to those who had disembowelled themselves, passed over the hills and escaped to Choshu.

<sup>(64)</sup>By the side of one of the bodies thus lying half scorched by the fire was found a slip of paper\* containing Maki Idzumi no Kami's farewell to the world. It ran as follows:—"My patriotic soul, which has lived years and months, is buried among the stones on the great mountain's top."

<sup>(65)</sup>This display of cultivated elegance by such a ferocious man of war, may cause to be proud of the glory and refinement of the country of the gods. The *Onino*

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\* The author does not explain how such an inflammable thing as a piece of paper escaped being burnt, when the bodies were half scorched.

*shikogusa*\* grew thick uselessly, for its time had not yet arrived; the bristly *obana*\* was scattered and dispersed by the rough treatment of the violent breeze of one morning. The earnest and faithful heart rose in hill top's smoke together with the flying leaves of the *hagi*.\* Though it disappear with the autumn dew drops, yet its praise shall remain among the clouds on the top of Tennozsan, and descend to after ages.

(86) Of the Choshu men who escaped after the defeat at Kyoto many had died on the way of the severe wounds they had received, while a considerable number were taken prisoners. A runaway of Tosa, named Ito Otanoske, who had been badly wounded, fell to rise no more in Ebisugawara street. One of the *Gi-yu-tai*, named Iwamoto Katsushiro, fought with one Uyeda Kishiro, belonging to the band of Takigawa Harima no Kami, in the temple of Bukkoji in Tominokoji Street, and was killed. Fujiyama Bennoske of the Kiyosu clan fell dead in the temple of Todo-in, south of Gojo. Many other like cases occurred. Large quantities of weapons and accoutrements had been thrown away here and there in the streets. Many fled by way of Akutagawa, Takatsuki, Tomida and Ibaraki to Amagasaki and Nishinomiya, or by way of Tamba to the northern part of the western provinces.

(87) When the Choshu men some time before had began to pass through, one after other, on their way to Kyoto, the Governor of the Castle of Osaka, Matsudaira

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\* Japanese flowering plants the names of which the translator has not been able to ascertain. *Hagi* is also the name of the chief town of Choshu.

Idzu no Kami dono, had been greatly alarmed, and had at once reported the matter to Kishiu dono. The *Wakadoshiyori* Inaba Hiobushoyu dono was also in Osaka at the time, and after taking the necessary resolutions, reported the matter to Kioto; and receiving orders from Aidzu Chiujo dono, Military Guardian of the capital, to take adequate measures for the protection of Osaka, built some lunettes on the edge of the castle moat at the front gate, and at the Kiobashi and Tamatsukuri gates.

*Note.*—About one thousand three hundred coolies were daily employed in the construction of these lunettes, so that they were entirely completed in fourteen or fifteen days. Thirty or forty cannon were mounted on them, to secure the annihilation, at a single discharge, of any who might attempt to take the castle by surprise.

(88) On the evening of the 19th August a message came post haste from Kioto, to say that if anything extraordinary occurred at Fushimi on the following morning, three rockets would be fired from the castle,\* which would be a signal for the garrison at Osaka to look to their weapons, and to assemble outside the castle there, with great guns and small arms. The Kiobashi entrance especially, and the other points liable to attack must be strictly guarded. These orders were communicated in haste to the Governor of the castle, and to all the princes in the neighbourhood.

When the signal rockets rose into the air at cock-crow on the following morning, the forces of the different daimios made their preparations, and attaching the marks of the different clans to their sleeves, donned their armour

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\* The castle of Nijo at Kioto.

and hastily assembled outside the castle in military array. The Governor of the castle, the prince of Kishiu, the *Wakadoshiyori* Inaba Kô, the Captain and Lieutenants of the castle, the Captains and Lieutenant of the guard, the *Yoriki* and *Doshin*, took up their stations from the Kiobashi as far as Sakura no Miya.\* Orders were given to capture any Choshu men who might come fleeing that way, or if they were in too great force to be seized, to kill them all. The forces employed on this occasion were those of Matsudaira Mikawa no Kami of Tsuyama in Mimasaka, Matsudaira Sanuki no Kami of Takamatsu in Sanuki, Todo Idzumi no Kami of Tsu in Ise, Matsudaira Sagami no Kami of Tottori in Inaba, Matsudaira Kura no Kami of Okayama in Bizen, Matsudaira Tosa no Kami of Kochi in Tosa, Matsudaira Shiuri no Tayu of Satsuma, and Matsudaira Totomi no Kami of Amagasaki in Settsu. At Sakura no Miya were stationed the troops of Ogasawara Ko-matsu-maru of Anshi in Harima, of Matsudaira Noto no Kami of Iwamura in Mino, of Koide Ise no Kami of Sonobe in Tajima, and of Yagiu Tajima no Kami of Yagiu in Yamato. The flags and pennons of the various clans stationed on both banks of the Yodogawa fluttered in the breeze; and the highroads running east and west were vigilantly guarded, leaving not a single loophole unwatched.

<sup>(69)</sup>The wounded men belonging to the force under Fukuwara Echigo, who had come down the river in boats from Fushimi, had got as far as the village of Kasugabe,

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\* The left bank of the river, a little way outside of Osaka, where a number of wild cherry trees are planted; whence the name Cherry Palace.

and were passing in front of the Camp occupied by the troops of Takamatsu, who sent to ask the Governor of the castle, Matsudaira Idzu no Kami, how they were to effect the capture. The latter referred the matter to the Prince of Kishiu, who ordered that they should be fired upon and killed without exception. Preparations were therefore made for acting accordingly, when an Aid-de-camp, Niimi Naizen, seeing the state of things, said that to fire upon them would cause great confusion. "What is to be feared from the Choshu clan in flight? Only 'entrust the affair to me!'" So saying, he jumped into the boat. The Choshu men entirely lost their heads, and one of them leaped into the water. The Takamatsu force then rushed wildly on board the boat. Ten of the Choshu men dexterously disembowelled themselves; of whom eight died, and two were made prisoners while the breath was still in their bodies. The rest were either taken alive, or jumped into the water, but those who did the latter were also captured, and brought to the camp of Matsudaira Sagami no Kami. Every one praised the conduct of Niimi on this occasion.

<sup>(70)</sup>The names of those who disembowelled themselves were Iida Kumasaburo, Dewa Magoshiro, Katsura Katsusaburo, Wachi Kaneguma, Yamada Senkichi, Tanaka Seiske, Takahashi Yasaburo, Imadzu Usaburo and Saburi Tokusaburo. The names of the two who disembowelled themselves, and did not die of the effects, were Shishido Kiunoshin, and Uyeda Kamenjo. The remaining prisoners were Ichikawa Magoshichi, Kageyama Katsusaburo, Awaya Mataske, Yoshii Chiyo-kuma, Edsu Konojo, Suzu Kichijiro, Muraoka Isuke,

Sasaki Goyemon, Honda Seinoske, and their followers, in all twenty-two persons, who were all captured in one boat by the Takamatsu troops. Those captured at the Tsuyama encampment were Nishimura Sobei, Tokushige Jinzo, Tanizawa Yeizo and other retainers of Fukuwara Echigo, to the number of thirteen. The troops of Hoshina Danjo Tadamasa, of Iino in Kadsusa, Captain of the Garrison, captured Matsuno Rikiji of the Tokuyama clan\* and a couple of peasants. The Amagasaki troops took prisoner Fujii Komakichi of the Choshu clan, Kochi Yashiro, Shirai Riosaburo and eleven servants of Fukuwara Echigo. Yamamoto Bunnoske of the Choshu clan and Fujita Tetsuzo, retainer of Fukuwara, both disembowelled themselves and died.

(71)The *rusui* of the Choshu *Kurayashiki*,† Hojo Sehei, was summoned to the official residence of the *Machibugio* Matsudaira Osumi no Kami, and addressed as follows "Your clan has been for some time past "*forbidden to enter* Kyoto, but has in spite of the "prohibition gone thither, and has made an attack on the "Sacred Precincts. This is a flagrant crime not lightly "to be passed over; you will therefore clear out of the "*yashiki* and retire to your native country." Sehei promised to obey, and set sail from Osaka before daylight on the morning of the 23rd August, to return home.

The banks of the river down to its mouth were guarded by the troops of Satsuma, Yagiu and Yagimoto.

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\* Mori Awaji no Kami.

† *Kurayashiki* are buildings in which the produce of Daimios is stored.

(72) On the morning of the following day, the 24th, the fire brigades were ordered to pull down the Choshiu *yashiki*; and all the rice stored in it, amounting to 4,875 *koku*, was confiscated, and sent up to Kioto, where it was bestowed on the townspeople who had suffered by the fire.

(73) Of the Choshiu men who escaped by way of Tamba, Nakamura Denyemon, belonging to the division under Kokushi, was captured at Kashiwara by the Wakasa\* troops guarding that place, and sent to Kioto; five others also were killed. Besides these there fell on the side of Choshiu in the Palace and at the different parts of the figet, the following *Samurai*:—Noki Hattutaro, Usui Tomenoske, Ito Keizo, Tokushige Otozo, Akimoto Kaneguma, Tamura Otozo, Nakamura Soji, Hironaka Ichiro, Fujii Zenkuro, Otomaru Zenske, Matsumura Kiyozo, Kazakami Shozo, Nasu Tadaichi, Kono Gunji, Kurashige Genzaburo, Nomura Katsutaro, Sumikawa Kenzo, Okazaki Kumakichi, Akutagawa Koshichi, Fujii Kenzo, Umemoto Sennoske, Shinowara Sozaburo, Hironaka Kenzo, Murakami Inuwaka, Raihara Uyematsu, Ichikawa Morio, Shinowara Hidetaro, Hori Yashiro, Kaneko Suyematsu, Ishidzu Matabei, Hiromine Taro, Ogata Nawozumi, Yamatoku Gonnoske, Kono Kakutaro, Nambu Taizo, Katsumata Tasaburo, Nakao Yasusaburo, Matsuda Seiyemon, Sasaki Hanshiro, Kurata Shidzuo, Kawachi Riutaro, Sumi Tatsuo, Shibao Moriyé, Indo Yoichiro, Hatano Keizo, Kawachi Mabito, Ito Michinoske, Ishikawa Tanji, Otome Hioye, Fujimoto Sekinoske,

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\* Sakai Wakasa no Kami, of Ohama; 103,558 *koku*; *fudai*.

Yoshida Yūkiye, Kunishige Keizo, Okamoto Ichigaku, Tagawa Jiukichi, Satake Shinyei, Arikawa Tsunetsuchi, Tsuchida Taizo, Tsuchida Tsutasaburo, and Mukunashi Sachiū, with Sakiyama Tomonoshin and Fukuya Rimbei of the Cadet House of the Tokuyama. 'It would take a long time to tell the names of the common soldiers who were killed and wounded in addition.

<sup>(74)</sup>A proclamation was now issued on behalf of the Mikado and Bakufu stating that the Choshū men had themselves commenced hostilities, and had discharged firearms against the Sacred Precincts; that these crimes were extremely grave. The Prince of Choshū and his son had given a commission to Kokushi Shinano, signed with the black seal, from which fact it was evident that they had intended to make war. That in consequence troops must be moved up to Nagato and Suwō, and execution be done upon them without loss of time. This proclamation was issued to all the Daimios, and all men feared what it might lead to.

<sup>(75)</sup>To return to another part of our subject:—The townspeople were frightened out of their wits by these warlike proceedings, and few of them were able to save the valuables they had inherited from their forefathers, or even their most ordinary furniture; nay most of them were glad enough to get off with a whole skin. Those who had old people, sick persons, wives or children to look after, just managed to bring them safety away. They wandered here and there, north, south, east and west, scarce knowing whither to turn for refuge. Some were hit by stray bullets and killed, and many a child lost its father, and many a father his child, and becoming



bewildered, were burnt in the flames. Other old people and little children were there, who could not escape in time, and wandering about in the midst of the conflagration, were at last burnt to death. Some were so maddened by grief, that they jumped into the fire and sought death voluntarily, and others threw themselves into wells and perished by drowning. A large number fainted with fright and excitement, and fell down dead on the spot. To see it was a terrible, a pitiable sight, which no words are sufficient to express.

<sup>(76)</sup>In the midst of this fierce conflagration, the ferocious and excited soldiery fired cannon against the plaster godowns still left standing, with the object of catching any fugitives who might have taken refuge therein; and this was done without any warning and upon the slightest suspicion. A great many persons were wounded in this way, and much property destroyed. The noise of the falling ruins re-echoed amongst the hills and valleys. The energy of the fire gradually became more violent, until the whole of the capital was wrapped in flames. From Ichijo street on the north the fire passed over Nijo and Sanjo to Shijo and Gojo. Ayano-koji and Nishiki-no-koji were also included in the general disaster. Rokkakudo was reduced to ashes, and even the enormous Bukkoji, with Rokujo and the temporary buildings of the Eastern Honguanji, disappeared in smoke in the twinkling of an eye. All the Shinto Shrines and Buddhist temples, the residences of the nobles of the Court, the barracks of the territorial Princes, and the dwellings of the common people were involved without exception in one common conflagration.

Even °the dew on the grass in the fields beyond Shichijo and Hachijo was consumed by the flames.

This capital, surrounded by a ninefold circle of flowers, entirely disappeared in one morning in the smoke of the flames of a war-fire, which was assisted in the work of destruction by a violent wind; and nothing was left of it, but a burnt and scorched desert. Alas! The loss most to be regretted was that of the triumphal car used in that most splendid of all the festivals of the Blossom-capital, the festival of Gion, which was almost entirely destroyed by the flames.

(77)On ordinary occasions, when a fire takes place, friends and relations hurry to the spot if it be near enough, to help in carrying the property out of the burning houses. But on the present occasion no one went to the assistance of another; everyone was obliged to flee with his property and furniture burning before his eyes. Those who had friends in the neighbouring villages, betook themselves thither in the hope of finding refuge, and supremely fortunate were those who were thus enabled to escape the rain and dew. For five or six days no commerce went on at all, for all the purchasers had been burnt out of their homes; and people with plenty of gold and silver died of hunger and exhaustion. Some issued forth into the fields and stole the brinjalls and melons that they might eat, and were killed by the peasants. Warriors in armour broke into the few houses that had escaped burning, in broad daylight, without fear or shame, and brandishing their swords in a threatening manner, seized gold and silver

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[ ° The three words "the dew on" to be cancelled.]

and clothing. There were many cases of this kind. That night no one had a roof to cover him, and many fled to Matsugasaki on the Kamogawa, to Shirakawa, Yase, Ohara, Kisen, Kurama-ga-ichi, Harano and Takaga-mine, and spent the night in the fields. As it was the latter end of summer and still terribly hot, the mosquitoes raised a shout and came on in crowds, till the poor wretches fancied that the enemy had come to attack them. The cries of the townspeople were heard loud and far, even above the hum of the mosquitoes. The sky was lit up by the flames as if it were broad daylight, and the roar of the cannon never ceased; such must it be when a forest a thousand leagues in extent is burnt. The report of the big guns re-echoed among the hills and over the open country, while the earth was hidden by the smoke. Palaces of the great and dwellings of the common people were tumbling down with a sound of general ruin, like the falling of hundreds and thousands of thunder bolts. Heaven and earth trembled and quaked, until the end of the world seemed to be at hand.

The fields looked as the bed of the river at Shijo looks when all the people go out to cool themselves in the fresh air. Parents and children, husbands and wives came crowding together, and passed two or three nights in the open country. They were thankful that no rain fell; so they bore their sorrows, and woke the morn with their tears.

<sup>(78)</sup>The number of streets destroyed in this war-fire was eight hundred and eleven, besides Shiwo-no-koji-mura, which was also burnt. The number of houses burnt was twenty-seven thousand four hundred. Eighteen

Palaces of the nobles were laid in ashes and forty-four Daimios' *yashiki*; six hundred and thirty houses occupied by retainers of *Kugé* and *Daimios* were burnt; also sixty four Shinto Shrines of all sizes and one hundred and fifteen great and small Buddhist temples. One thousand two hundred and sixteen mud godowns, forty bridges, three theatres, four hundred forty three beggar's houses, and one *Eta* village fell victims to the flames.

<sup>(79)</sup>I was afflicting myself with the notion that the house I had so long inhabited must have become a lump of hard burnt clay, when I took fright at the sound of the cannon and awoke. I found myself unhurt and sitting up in my bed. I praised heaven and earth with gratitude and joy, and thanked them. This was my dream, which I saw one night in the autumn of Genji.

<sup>(80)</sup>Written by the light of a lamp on the night of the twenty and sixth day of the middle of autumn.

END OF THE STORY OF THE DREAM OF GENJI.



**Letter from Baba Bunyei to  
Nakamura Tekkei.**

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I congratulate you on your continued good health, which is unaffected by the increasing cold of the autumn. Such a long road separates us from each other, that since last I saw you, I have let things pass negligently in regard to you. Your kind visit of the day before yesterday calls for my deepest gratitude. On that occasion you asked me to write for you, however roughly, an account of the disturbances which occurred here last month; but as what I heard and saw myself is as but one hair to those of nine oxen, in addition to what I saw in a dream one night when I lay sleeping over what I should do, I have entrusted to my humble pen the tale of what I have heard from those who were present in the late fight and did service therein, and have made this compilation. But unless I have more time, I cannot find out and obtain all the particulars; there must be much omitted, and much misstated. If I hereafter hear anything more I will write it down, and send it to you. Also it has always been my favourite occupation, from my youth, to write down passing events beginning with the end of *Kayei* (1853) at my leisure; I have given the gist of the Imperial Rescripts, of the Mandates of the Shôgun, of Orders, Notifications, Memorials, Applications for instructions and Reports, selected from the waste paper I had collected by recording whatever struck my eyes as novel or my ears as curious and interesting. I have only

made extracts, lopping off whatever was luxuriant in these documents. I have also put down what I have heard from men connected with the affairs which occurred from time to time, and have added this to my composition. Though I have arranged the events in order, so as to form a sort of introduction to the subject, I have not had time to weave elegancies. I send it to you in the rough, and doubt not there must be many mistakes of spelling and incorrect characters. If you will read it so, then correct the imperfections of the style, eliminate the errors and supply the omissions, I shall esteem myself highly fortunate.

8th month, 27th day.

BABA BUNYEI.

*To the Elegant Prince,*  
NAKAMURA TEKKEI.

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### POSTSCRIPT.

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The provinces far and wide were in a state of excitement when they heard of the late extraordinary commotion which occurred round the Phoenix Palace, but thanks be unto the glory and virtues of our great Imperial Prince, who in so short a time has restored the Four Seas to their wonted tranquillity. In a remote and distant corner, I was unable clearly to conceive the causes of these events, but having obtained possession of a com-

position entitled "the story of the dream of Genji," lately sent from the capital by that great man BABA BUNYEI to NAKAMURA TEKKEI of CHIKUZEN, in which not only the beginning and the end of those affairs, but also the details of their origin and cause are most clearly explained, (just as if one could see them with his very eyes and hear of them himself,) I perused it and thus came to understand the change and movements of the spirit of the times, so that I felt as if I had seen all pass before mine own eyes. As it is a composition which may truly be called the history of this nearer age, and it would be a pity that such a work should be lost to the world, I begged and obtained this secret treasure, and have copied it out as a book of reference for posterity

Written on the 6th day, of the 10th month, 1864.

By RIKO SANJIN OF BUZEN



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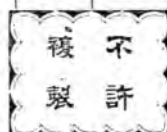
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